A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY

OF THE

MOROCCAN COMMUNITY

OF EDINBURGH

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For my mother and father

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Abstract

The focus of this thesis is the language behaviour of Moroccan immigrants living in Edinburgh. In particular I have looked at how a speaker's environment can affect his or her use of language. The thesis begins with a short introduction in which I describe my Moroccan respondents and the type of community which they form. There then follows an analysis of some of their language attitudes based on their responses to a questionnaire. I show how their attitudes towards Arabic (and 'other' languages) are informed by their experience as immigrants in a non-Arab land and by the wider and more traditional attitudes of Arabic speaking peoples to their own language on the one hand and the language of foreigners on the other. My respondents' language attitudes help to determine their language choice, which I look at in the next chapter and these two chapters together, then form the basis for an examination of meaning in code-switching. It becomes clear as the thesis progresses that the first generation Moroccans, in particular, hold strong views about Moroccan society and how it compares with life in Britain, and that these views are represented by a 'we-they dichotomy' which has become inextricably linked with both attitudes to and use of language. I also include an analysis of the linguistic aspects of code-switching in the next chapter and, finally, I look at the other areas of my respondents' language behaviour; viz, borrowing, foreigner talk and

some interesting characteristics of Moroccan Arabic spoken by the second generation. I conclude with a discussion of the future of Arabic amongst Moroccans in Edinburgh.

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Chapter One

The Background

1.0 Introduction

The idea for this thesis grew out of the twofold desire to study a Muslim community in Britain and to investigate changes wrought upon the language of Arabs who come to live in a non-Arabic speaking country. It had previously been my intention to concentrate on the first of these subjects, since I wanted to investigate the impact of British life on the culture and thought of Muslim immigrants. I began to turn my attention, however, more towards the language of Arab immigrants when I encountered some of the North African families living in Edinburgh and grew aware of some interesting peculiarities in their language behaviour; my fascination with their language increased when I saw how closely were attitudes and perceptions of their environment intertwined with some people's characteristics of speech. The following thesis thus developed into a study of people's language (including environmental and other influences acting thereon), with reference to the position of Muslim Arabs in a non-Muslim, non-Arabic speaking country.

In this introduction I shall discuss aspects of the methodology I have employed in my research and will

outline how fieldwork progressed (including some of the problems encountered). I shall also include a note on the method of transcription I have used. I begin, however, with an explanation of how I started fieldwork, following with a short description of the community which provides the focus of this study: the Moroccan community of Edinburgh.

1.1 The Moroccan Community of Edinburgh

I was first introduced to a member of the North African community by a Palestinian shopkeeper whom I had met via a Muslim colleague at the University. The Palestinian kept a shop next door to a small Tunisian grocery, and both shops provided *halal* meat and Arab foodstuffs which made them fairly well known to Arab Muslims in the area; the Tunisian shop attracting other North Africans in particular, due to their friendly relations with the shopkeeper and, no doubt, to some of the typically North African products on sale there. The man whom the Palestinian introduced me to was the Tunisian shopkeeper who in turn introduced me to a Moroccan friend and customer, a man whom in time I came to regard as the head of the Moroccan community and who gave me the names and addresses of eight more Moroccan familes[1].

It had been my intention, at the time, to focus my

[1] In each of these families both parents were Moroccan.

research on the North African community as a whole (ie. Moroccans, Tunisians, Libyans and Algerians), but I was informed by the Moroccans whom I later met, that to their knowledge there were no Algerian families living in Edinburgh[2], and, furthermore, the few Libyan families who did live here appeared to be fairly isolated. When I visited the shop on other occasions I came into contact with more Tunisians, but during the first couple of weeks after initial contact had been made, during which I made preliminary visits to families within the Moroccan/Tunisian communities, I realised that the study of two dialects might prove problematic as there would be difficulties in learning both of them, and distinguishing properly between them; moreover, the Moroccan families appeared to be genuinely interested in the research and were keen to help (they were also far more numerous than the Tunisian families). I decided, therefore, to concentrate simply on one group of people - the Moroccan community.

Up till now I have used the word 'community' without any explanation of what is actually implied by this term. Lesley Milroy (1980) has remarked that there is much disagreement about the use of the term 'community' in the literature, however, she goes on to say that

"... most writers who use such a unit of analysis agree that they are talking about cohesive groups to which

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2 I later met an Algerian family but they had no links with any of the other North Africans in Edinburgh.

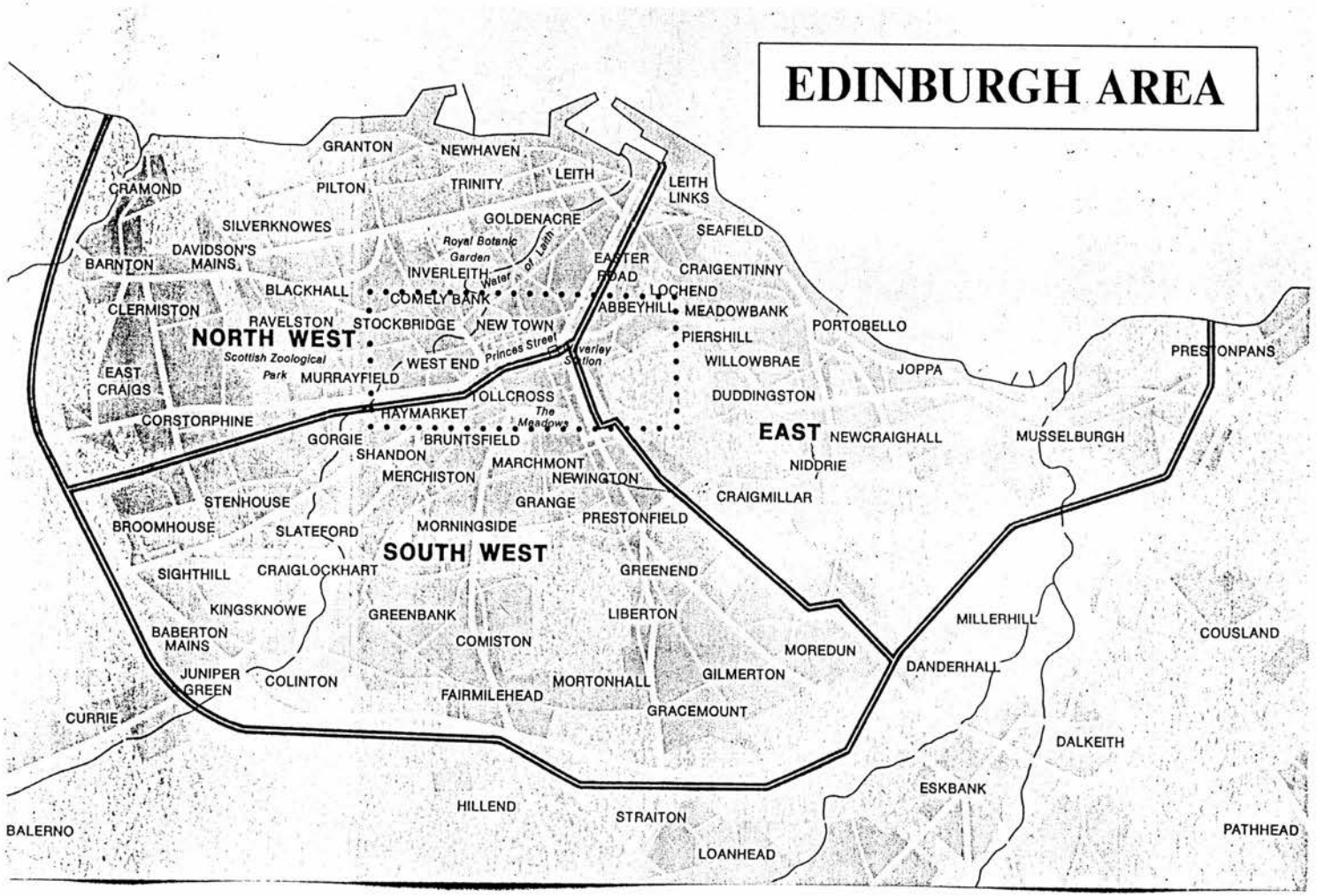
people have a clear consciousness of belonging ... Unlike the more abstract social classes, these groups always have a strong territorial basis" (1980:14).

As far as the present study is concerned the term is employed in a similar manner, as long as "a strong territorial basis" is taken to mean 'the same city' rather than, for example 'the same area of a city', the Moroccan families within the community being scattered throughout the Western and Northern parts of Edinburgh: Merchiston, Gorgie, Sighthill, Haymarket and the New Town (see figure 1). Saville-Troike (1982) has also discussed the term and writes

"All definitions of *community* used in the social sciences include the dimension of shared knowledge, possessions, or behaviors, derived from Latin *communitae* 'held in common'" (1982:18).

The people whom I viewed as being part of the Moroccan community were generally members of the families I visited. There were, however, two single Moroccan students, who had integrated into the community and who were known to most of the other members. There are also Moroccan men who have married Scottish or English women - most of these people, however, have little to do with the Moroccans I came to know, although there are some exceptions; even amongst the families with whom I had the most contact, there were people who could only be considered as being on the very edge of the community, that is they did not seem to have a 'clear consciousness of belonging', nor did they share in most 'community events'.

Figure 1


EDINBURGH AREA
GRANTON
NEWHAVEN
CRAMOND
PILTON
TRINITY
LEITH
LEITH LINKS
SILVERKNOWES
GOLDENACRE
SEAFIELD
Royal Botanic Garden
DAVIDSON'S MAINS
BARNTON
Water of Leith
EASTER ROAD
CRAIGENTINNY
INVERLEITH
BLACKHALL
LOCHEND
COMELY BANK
ABBEYHILL
MEADOWBANK
CLERMISTON
RAVELSTON
STOCKBRIDGE
NEW TOWN
PIERSHILL
PORTOBELLO
NORTH WEST
Princes Street
Waverley Station
Scottish Zoological Park
WEST END
WILLOWBRAE
PRESTONPANS
EAST CRAIGS
MURRAYFIELD
JOPPA
TOLLCROSS
DUDDINGSTON
The Meadows
HAYMARKET
CORSTORPHINE
EAST
NEWCRAIGHALL
MUSSELBURGH
GORGIE
BRUNTSFIELD
SHANDON
MARCHMONT
NIDDRIE
MERCHISTON
NEWINGTON
CRAIGMILLAR
STENHOUSE
GRANGE
BROOMHOUSE
SLATEFORD
MORNINGSIDE
PRESTONFIELD
SOUTH WEST
SIGHTHILL
CRAIGLOCKHART
GREENEND
KINGSKNOWE
GREENBANK
LIBERTON
MILLERHILL
COUSLAND
BABERTON MAINS
COMISTON
MOREDUN
DANDERHALL
JUNIPER GREEN
COLINTON
MORTONHALL
GILMERTON
FAIRMILEHEAD
GRACEMOUNT
CURRIE
DALKEITH
ESKBANK
HILLEND
STRAITON
BALERNO
LOANHEAD
PATHHEAD

The idea of a community is a convenient way of grouping together a set of people, but in essence it is a theoretical abstraction and in some ways as abstract as the idea of a social class; I mean by this that in practice it is often impossible (within a complex society) to draw definite boundaries to indicate who is to be included in a community and who is not. There are two basic criteria upon which I base my application of the term to the group of Moroccans taking part in my research:

i) they share knowledge and behaviour, the latter in the form of certain events and organisations in which these people participate as members of the community,
and

ii) they interact with each other socially or are at least known to each other.

It is appropriate here to give a description of how the Moroccans I know fulfilled these criteria.

The Moroccans, being the largest and most organised group amongst the North Africans have set up a Moroccan Association and. more recently, a Moroccan school, which is run by private donations (given by members of the community), and takes place in a primary school two evenings a week. Not all the parents can send their children to this school, the main reason being that some of them live too far away; those children who do attend, however, learn to read and write Classical Arabic, and they must also listen to and speak Moroccan Arabic. There is a common feeling amongst the Moroccans that they should maintain their distinctive dialect and not become used to

speaking a kind of mixed Arabic dialect in which it is sometimes useful to communicate with people from other areas of the Arab world. In this respect the Moroccans seem to be retaining their separate identity to a greater extent than the Tunisians, some of whose children take part in another Arabic school with teachers from Libya, Egypt and the Sudan. Other shared behaviour includes participation in the 'Moroccan Association' and its affiliated activites, that is mainly meetings held in the home of one of the Moroccans to discuss issues such as the Moroccan school, or other issues of concern to its members (for example, the present research). The Moroccans I knew were also eligible to vote in elections taking place in Morocco; in the past an official from the Moroccan embassy in London has travelled up to Edinburgh to the home of one of the Moroccans in order that people might come and cast their votes. The Moroccans participate in other events together, such as the weddings of offspring. One year Said Aouita, the Moroccan runner, came to run at Meadow Bank. He was met at the airport by eight of the families, with flags and flowers. The Moroccans thus build up a fund of shared experiences and knowledge, in addition to the cultural knowledge they already share by virtue of their common background. They are also set apart, however, from other Moroccans not participating in these events, by their more general social interaction.

Milroy (1980:20-21) has written of social ties within

societies and differentiates between high and low density networks. A high density network within a group of people involves most people knowing each other personally, rather than many people being known to only one or a few persons (the latter forming the only link between the majority of people). Within the small community of which I write there is one man who has social ties with everybody. This is not surprising since this is the person who put me in contact with the other eight families[3]. Apart from one family who are generally only known by sight (but who attended the wedding reception of the daughter of the man just mentioned), all the other families in the community know each other fairly well. Naturally, people have preferences about whom they choose as their more intimate acquaintances, and there are, in addition, some rifts between particular families due to various quarrels (one notes that Milroy's model can be developed by stipulating which social ties are weak and which are strong). There are also kin ties which bind several families together, in the case of sisters and brothers who have both come to live in Edinburgh.

It seems appropriate, on the basis of the points made above, to use the term 'community' in connection with my

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3 The community I have studied is not, however, simply a group of people, personally known to this one man; the Tunisian shopkeeper introduced me to this person because he was aware of his position amongst the Moroccans as the 'head' of the Moroccan community and thus someone who would make a valuable contact at the beginning of my research.

research; the group whom I studied appearing to form a cohesive community with a high density network of social ties and a strong sense of its own individual identity. The identity of these Moroccan immigrants is actually more complex than is immediately obvious, for their social ties not only extend to the wider Scottish community, but also reach into their immigrant communities with whom they come into contact. As Saville-Troike has pointed out,

> "Depending on the degree of abstraction desired, social units may be selected at different levels; virtually any community in a complex society might be considered part of another larger one, or subdivided into smaller groups" (1982:19).

In the case of the Moroccans I knew, some were also part of a North African community in the sense that the Tunisians were among their closest friends[4]; they might also be considered as part of an Arab community since the circle of friends and acquaintances common to many of the Moroccan families incoporated Arabs from other parts of the Arab world; or as part of the Muslim community, being in contact with Muslims from many different countries. The complexity of their situation is perhaps illustrated by my introduction into the Moroccan community through a Tunisian (North African Arab), a Palestinian (Arab) and ultimately a Muslim, whose main contact with the Palestinian was through the Mosque. One of the issues which interested me in the study which follows was the

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[4] There are only four Tunisian families that I know of in Edinburgh, and a similar number of Libyan families; these families arrived in Edinburgh in the late 1960s and 1970s, according to a Moroccan respondent.

influence exerted on the language of the Moroccans by the Arabic speaking members of other communities, this influence being acknowledged by the Moroccans in their desire to set up their own Moroccan school where, apart from Classical Arabic, their children would be taught only the Moroccan dialect.

Now that it has been shown in what way my Moroccan familes can be considered to form a community (whose members can also be seen as belonging to other, larger communities), I will describe the families themselves, beginning with the history behind their arrival in Scotland (figure 2 gives more detailed information about the families of which I write)[5].

The first Moroccan (at least known to my Moroccan respondents), to arrive in Edinburgh, came in 1961 or 1962; the only additional information I was able to glean of him was that this person married a Scottish woman. Apart from this he appears as an obscure figure, who has no connection with the Moroccan community. It is not until 1969 that the first seeds of the community were sown. A.S. arrived in this year (see figure 2), but had no connection with the other families at that time; two

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[5] There are now thirteen Moroccan families living in Edinburgh; three members of the second generation have married people from Morocco, and one family is not shown in figure 2 because they did not participate in my research. There are also approximately fifteen Moroccan-British families in Edinburgh (where a Moroccan man has married a British woman).

Figure 2

Sociological information on nine Moroccan families

Initials of Husband & Wife	Year of Arrival in Britain	Age (1991)	Place of Origin	Formal School Education	Occupation	Children	Other Relations in Edinburgh
BS SM	1970 1972	46 39	El-Jadida El-Jadida	None None	Manager/owner of hotel and restaurant Chef in family restaurant	5	AE: sister
RE AE	1973 1976	45 40	South Morocco El-Jadida	None None	Waiter Cleaner	2	BS: brother
AA ZA	1972 1974	49 42	Chechaouen Tangier	None Primary	Waiter Carer of old folk and young people	3	LO, MO: brothers (plus one other brother)
LO SO	1973 1975	45 34	Tangier Tangier	Primary Primary	Owner of fast food shop Factory worker	4	ZA:sister MO:brother (plus one other brother) CO:sister
MO CO	1973 1975	43 34	Tangier Tangier	Primary Primary	Waiter Factory worker	3	ZA:sister MO:brother (plus one other brother) SO:sister
MA SA	1972 1985	38 28	Tangier Tangier	None None	Waiter Cleaner	3	
AM NM	1970 1971	45 37	Tangier Tangier	Higher Primary	Waiter Factory worker	4	
AS LS	1969 1989	43 30	Rabat Rabat	Higher Higher	Waiter Mother	1	
[Husband deceased] FD	Early 1970s 1974	 38	Not known Not known	Not known None	Waiter Cleaner	5	

other men also came in the same year. These two men were known to each other through their work in Gibraltar and it was also through their work in Gibraltar that they made the acquaintance of a British man who offered them employment in Edinburgh. One of these men, with his Moroccan wife and family, has since left Scotland and returned to Morocco; the other man still lives here with his wife and family but has little contact with the rest of the community (some rift having developed between them). It is, however, this latter man who was instrumental in attracting three other families to Edinburgh: that is the families of his sister and two brothers (Z.A., L.O. and M.O.), who arrived in the 1970s. Two other Moroccans arrived soon after the first three men, in 1970. One (A.M.), had also been offered a contract to work in Britain whilst working in Gibraltar; he came to Manchester first, but found employment thereafter in Edinburgh. The other man (B.S.) was initially employed in France, but came to Edinburgh to join a friend who was engaged in a catering course here. He found employment and settled in Edinburgh, a few years later he was joined by his sister's husband (R.E.).

There seem to be three main reasons why people have come to Edinburgh: firstly, they have been offered employment here by British people they met whilst working in Gibraltar; secondly, they come as students or trainees and thirdly, they are encouraged to come by their family and

friends who are already here. It is interesting that all the Moroccan men I am acquainted with are involved, in some way, in the food industry. People have mostly come to Britain either to work as waiters or to embark on catering courses (one student who was enrolled in a business course is now working as a waiter). Two people have set up their own businesses: one owns a hotel and restaurant, and another has recently opened a carry-out shop in Liberton, on the outskirts of Edinburgh. It was suggested to me by a Tunisian friend that the fact that a waiter need only have a basic command of English acts as an incentive for the Moroccans to embark on this type of career; this coupled with previous employment as waiters in Gibraltar seems likely to account, in part, for why this occupation is so popular amongst Moroccans here.

Contrary to the findings of other studies (for example, Van Deusen-Scholl (1988)) in which the Moroccan wives of immigrants have no paid employment, all of the Moroccan women I knew, except for one, had a job or had been employed at some time. The women's employment ranged from cleaning to factory work, a chef in a family restaurant, to a carer of old folk and mentally disturbed young people. When these women are not working it is generally because they have young children to look after at home. In most cases these women have either joined their husbands a couple of years after the men emigrated to Britain, or the men have married after emigrating and

their wives have then joined them. Many of the women told me how hard it had been for them to leave their homes and families behind and come to a very different country, where they had no friends, and where very often the companionship of their young children was their only human contact during the day. They did not speak English when they arrived and had no prospect of employment at that time. In addition the cold British weather was difficult to tolerate. During my rounds of visits to various families I realised that one wife, who had only arrived a few years ago, was undergoing a similarly depressing period: she had young children to care for and was often confined to the home (a flat in the centre of Edinburgh with no garden). This woman, however, was lucky in the sense that she had been welcomed into a community of people with interests similar to her own and women sympathetic to her position; such an organised group of Moroccans had not existed when people first arrived and wives of early immigrants had not been able to enjoy the kind of support such a community offers.

Today, Moroccan immigrants have different concerns, and their children, the second generation, are not the least of these concerns; this is true, especially, of people with children over the age of sixteen. As I have already mentioned, one of their worries is that their children should be able to speak Arabic and, furthermore, that they should know the Moroccan dialect and not some 'hotch

potch' of Arabic varieties. Saville-Troike (1982:20) talks of 'soft-shelled' and 'hard-shelled' communities: a 'hard-shelled' community puts up strong boundaries to outside influences which help to maintain the language of the community (as well as its distinctive character); a 'soft-shelled' community is more open to interaction with other people and external influences. The fact that the Moroccans are worried about their children's knowledge of Arabic indicates that the community is very much open to external influences; I have already commented on the Moroccans' contact with other Arabs and Muslims. Furthermore, some parents grow increasingly concerned about influences which emanate from British society and which affect both the language and culture of their children.

I have heard many people complain about, what they see as some of the harmful effects of British culture on their children and have witnessed arguments concerning this between parent and child (and disagreements between parents themselves). Parents' main cause for concern is the bad influence of friends, and the possibility that their child will become involved with a girlfriend or boyfriend. Some parents are also anxious about their children's future careers; during the period in which I conducted my research with the nine families there were at least five members of the second generation who were unemployed out of eleven members available for work.

Those members of the second generation who had jobs were engaged in employment ranging from a computer engineer who travelled to many parts of the globe and an assistant pharmacist, to a secretary and a fitter of satellite dishes. The majority of the second generation were too young to work, though, and one had embarked on a catering course.

Nevertheless, the level of unemployment amongst the second generation seems unusually high and is possibly symptomatic of a feeling of *malaise* with their environment. I have been told stories by one family of racism and ostracism suffered during their school days; people have reported to me racist incidents in the streets (usually name-calling); two other families became 'ex-directory' because of nuisance phone calls; and another family has reported that they have been harassed by the police. However, the children also have the opportunity to participate in and benefit from two distinct cultures. They take advantage of this, delighting in yearly visits, in many cases, to Morocco and also enjoying aspects of life in Britain, such as participating in various sports clubs or owning and maintaining expensive bicycles; visiting leisure centres and cinemas or reading English literature.

Just as language and culture set the Moroccans apart from mainstream British society, religion also has its role to

play in making them feel distinct. The value of 'family life' and 'hospitality', which the Moroccans consider to be 'Islamic values', are of paramount importance to them, and many of my respondents felt these to be somewhat lacking in modern British culture. The Moroccans, all Sunni Muslims, participate in *Ramadan* (the Muslim month of fasting) - the first generation all claiming to observe the fast during this month; and they celebrate *Eid*, the festival at the end of Ramadan. Eid is a time when the community come together in the home of one of the Moroccans for celebrations, and groups of women and children work hard in the days leading up to Eid to make traditional festive foods. Families visit each other and men and women visit the mosque for the *tarawiḥ* prayers (special supererogatory prayers performed in the evenings during Ramadan). People make an effort to perform their prayers generally (although, only a few manage the obligatory prayers five times a day), and the children also perform prayers albeit not so regularly as their parents. Three women observe the common Muslim practice of covering their hair when they leave the house, or when they are in the company of men apart from their husbands and children; there is a general feeling that this is a respectable thing to do, and some women intend to do this in the future when they feel 'ready'. None of the second generation observe this practice at present.

There is also widespread observance of some of the Islamic

dietary laws; namely, the prohibition of pork and alcohol. People vary, however, in their views about *halal* meat and it is interesting that some of those who most steadfastly observe prayers and Islamic codes of dress do not think twice about eating the meat one buys in a Scottish supermarket. This recalls the relaxed and easy attitude of the Moroccans, which distinguished them for me from the Tunisians when I first made their acquaintance. Whilst sincere in their religious beliefs and proud of both their national identity and language, they have never been excessively strict in religion or overly nationalistic.

On the whole, the Moroccans I know feel attached to Edinburgh and, as they have said, they enjoy the adventure of living and working in a different country. People are not wealthy but they live comfortably, those in the New Town, Merchiston and Haymarket occupying spacious property. However, my impressions are also that some people feel disappointed. People have had to work hard, and the women, particularly, find this difficult, not having been used to paid employment in Morocco. I have often been told how wonderful life is in Morocco with its beaches and cafés, busy and exciting street life and night life, cinemas ..., whilst life in Britain seems rather dull in comparison. The second generation have given little indication of wishing to live in Morocco, but it is a dream of many of the first generation to return to their home country for good. People feel constrained to stay in

Britain though, whilst children remain at school or even remain unmarried. No doubt in the event of their returning, the Moroccans would find it difficult to leave family behind, and to relinquish a life they have grown used to; their return would also mean the disintegration of a unique community of people, who have grown close to each other and have lived with each other for twenty years or more.

1.2 Fieldwork and Methodology

My first contact with the Moroccans was made in the Autumn of 1990. In the Spring of the following year seven families filled out questionnaires for me, upon which I based two chapters of this thesis. In January 1992 my department supplied me with a Sony Walkman, with which to make recordings of my respondents language use. My contact with the Moroccans lasted until I left Edinburgh in the Winter of that year.

I have already explained how I gained access to the Moroccan community. Once I had made my first contact with people, I felt it important to keep in touch by visiting and telephoning, on a fairly regular basis. I also kept a diary, in which I recorded visits and telephone calls, and which proved invaluable when I later wrote about my research and was able to draw upon the notes I had made on conversations, and on certain events. Although fieldwork

was not without its own particular problems, I was undoubtedly helped by the sociable nature of the Moroccans and also, perhaps, by my being female. Visiting people and being visited is an important function of every member of the community, and it seems to me that the women more than the men find it encumbant upon them to make regular visits to other families or women, especially those with whom they are most intimate. This made it easier for me to visit people and to get to know them better. It did also imply, though, that if I grew slack in my attendance I would incur mild reproach; although I never visited people with the regularity of the Moroccan women, people nonetheless did expect me to contact them from time to time. The nature of the research meant that there were also periods during which I visited people everyday, or made several visits to different families within one day. There were other times when I spent lengthy periods organising data or studying at home, and I did not have cause to see any of the Moroccans for a while; during these periods I made an effort to keep in touch by telephone, or with an occasional visit.

Possibly the most difficult thing in research of this kind is the reliance one has on other people. During periods of fieldwork it was sometimes difficult to contact the Moroccans; or having arranged to meet, they forgot that I was coming and were not in; or they were busy and it seemed inappropriate to ask for assistance. Furthermore,

I felt indebted to them for their help and it gave me some satisfaction to repay people in small ways for their cooperation: I brought gifts of fruit or flowers sometimes when I came, or small presents from a holiday abroad; I also spent time helping my respondents with forms they had to fill out and official letters they needed to write.

During my last summer in Edinburgh I was invited to the wedding of the daughter of one of the families. This was a good opportunity to see everyone in a friendly, social context. The occasion also made me realise that, in a sense, I had also become part of the community since I was accepted as a friend by the Moroccan families, and by other Moroccans I had come to know; I was also aware of being a common focus of interest between people who rarely spoke to one another. However, at the same time I was still engaged in my research, and my dual role as friend and observer (how my role, at least, seemed to me), made me feel that I was still partly an 'outsider'. Possibly, one can never become fully integrated into other ethnic or cultural communities, when contact is only first made in adulthood. This distance lends one a certain objectivity, which may aid an analysis of a community or society which is not one's own, and the reverse is also true: by associating with members of minority communities one learns how other people view British society.

1.2.1 The Questionnaire

The questionnaire tested people's 'language attitudes', and when they thought they used certain languages. There were two main reasons for the questionnaire:

i) I had previously noted amongst the Moroccans and other Arabic speakers certain attitudes towards Arabic and I wanted to see what views my respondents would hold in a formal test

and

ii) the questionnaire provided a starting point for research into my respondents' language behaviour.

The questionnaire had further uses which became apparent later on:

i) by investigating people's attitudes I felt I was able to get to know people better.

ii) the responses indicated patterns of language attitudes and language choice within the community.

iii) it had a direct bearing on other parts of my study.

iv) it gave some insight into the future of Arabic within the community.

Questionnaires were produced in Arabic and English; a copy of each is included in the appendix. Having noted which languages my respondents were interested in, and when they might possibly be able to use them, I first devised a pilot questionnaire which I tested on people who were not taking part in my study: two members of the Tunisian community, from the first and second generations. A Sudanese colleague who knew some of the Moroccans also went through it for me. The questionnaire was designed to elicit responses for Classical/Standard Arabic, Moroccan

Arabic, 'other types of Arabic', Scottish English, Standard English, French and Spanish. It tested people's language choice in different circumstances: i) when talking to different people, ii) when in different locales or settings, iii) when discussing various topics, and iv) for various purposes or when in different moods.

In addition to some other questions on language use (for example, when writing letters, or looking at television), people were asked about their ability in these languages. The questionnaire also tested people's attitudes to the languages: I chose eight adjectives, and my respondents indicated to what extent they felt they applied to each language. I based the questions on language choice, and the selection of the eight adjectives upon my previous knowledge of my respondents and also upon what I had read in the literature, drawing particularly upon Bentahila's study with which I wished to compare my own research. Responses were indicated by a tick, or were measured on a scale of 1 to 5, which gave additional information on how often they thought they used certain languages. Some of the information I obtained from the questionnaires was not used in my study because some responses were inconclusive. Questions were also included on age, place of bith, sex, years resident in Britain, level of education and type of Moroccan dialect spoken. They provided valuable information for the analysis of people's responses, including patterns of response within the community, and

gave me a useful insight into my respondents' background.

The questionnaires were delivered by hand to those respondents who had agreed to take part in my survey. After giving some brief instructions, I arranged a time when I might come back and collect the questionnaires. I then left them with people to complete on their own. Questionnaires were completed by twenty two people, thirteen members of the first generation (between the ages of thirty and forty one) and nine members of the second generation (aged between eleven and twenty one). All the members of the second generation filled out questionnaires in English and all but one member of the first generation filled out Arabic ones (the man who filled out an English one was A.S., an Arabic-French bilingual).

Originally, I had hoped that thirty people in all would complete the questionnaires. However, one couple and a family of six were impossible to contact at this time, and I was forced to abandon the idea that they might participate as well. When I returned to collect the questionnaires from people there were two main problems that beset me: some members of the first generation either had been too busy to complete the questionnaires before I came back to collect them, or they had not understood them properly and needed help in filling them out. I later assisted six people with them, and two people were assisted by a friend (S.M.) or spouse (A.A.).

Whereas the children appeared to enjoy responding to the questions, some of the first generation agreed to fill out the questionnaires with some reluctance, and two different people referred to them as 'forms' (which seemed to imply an unpleasant task). On reflection it may have been preferable to have offered my assistance with the questionnaire in the first place, this would undoubtedly not only have saved time, but would also have avoided the risk of embarrassing people who found they were unable to complete them on their own. However, one also has to balance these advantages with the risk of giving too much assistance, since the chances of biasing people's responses increases when the researcher actually reads through the questions and records the answers for the respondents.

1.2.2 The Tape-Recordings

As I have mentioned, the first two chapters of the thesis were based upon the responses to the questionnaire. The following three chapters arose from a series of 'conversations' I held with people, which I had tape-recorded. The recordings were made in February and March 1992 and fourteen people took part (seven of the first generation and seven of the second generation). I had wished to study people's language behaviour more closely, and a detailed analysis was only possible by first making these recordings. There were two major reasons why I

wanted to pursue an investigation of this sort:

i) I had become aware of certain influences from other types of Arabic and English upon my respondents' Moroccan Arabic speech

and

ii) I had remarked that the respondents themselves were aware of some of these influences on their own language and furthermore parents had noted that their children did not speak Moroccan Arabic properly.

I, therefore, wanted to look at the influence of English (and possibly other languages) upon the language of my respondents.

After I had made a few recordings I realised that the influence of English on my respondents' Arabic speech was greater than I had first thought. I became interested in the way in which large portions of English were incorporated into Arabic speech as if they were part of the same language. This phenomenon, which is known in the literature as 'code-switching', (and to which I have devoted two chapters), I had noted before I made the recordings, but I had not realised that it was such an important communicative strategy on the part of some of the Moroccans. I also noted in the recordings that some people were borrowing words from English (and other languages), which accorded with my first impressions - and the claims of the Moroccans themselves - that the use of foreign words in their Arabic speech is pervasive (I shall discuss this in chapter six).

I decided to obtain recordings of my respondents' Arabic speech by means of a series of 'conversations' with them. These conversations took place in the homes of those respondents who had agreed to be recorded speaking Arabic. I had previously prepared some questions relating to topics such as 'family', 'religion', 'Moroccan culture', 'British culture', 'work' and 'education', which closely resembled the topics mentioned in the questionnaires, and I included these questions in each of the sittings both as useful prompts to keep the conversation going and as a means of getting different people to talk about similar things. My respondents were aware that I expected them to talk in Moroccan Arabic and not in English. My aim was not to gather samples of speech from my respondents in all manner of circumstances, but to gather evidence of one aspect of their language behaviour in circumstances which were similar in each recording.. The recordings were consistent in so far as i) we discussed the same topics, ii) the respondent's main interlocutor was myself, and iii) we sat in the respondent's house. There was also consistency amongst the respondents themselves in that they come from a similar soci-economic class and the first generation particularly have similar levels of education. This consistency made it possible for me, later on, to compare the language behaviour of my respondents. Furthermore, in some of the recordings there were sometimes one or two other members of the family present, or actually participating. These latter occasions

produced some excellent data and enabled me to compare the language behaviour of some respondents in relation to their children or parents and the behaviour of the same respondents towards myself. It also meant that some people felt they were able to talk more freely and become engrossed in the conversation.

Although I had originally intended to analyse the language behaviour of the first and second generations to an equal degree and had spent similar amounts of time recording them, I felt I should limit myself mainly to one group when I saw how rich and abundant the data were that I had collected. I decided that I would concentrate mainly on the first generation. There were two reasons for this: firstly, the first generation had been extremely forthcoming and uninhibited during our conversations and had thus produced copious and valuable data; secondly, some members of the first generation, in particular, mixed large portions of English with Arabic, which phenomenon I was especially interested in. I have nonetheless dealt with some of the children's language behaviour and have made comparisons between the first and second generations.

My position as an English speaking interlocutor did no doubt increase the likelihood that my respondents would, from time to time, use English when talking to me. I have endeavoured to limit the impact this might have had on my later analysis in the following ways:

i) by choosing many examples which were spoken to, or in the presence of, another member of the respondent's family, and which clearly invited other explanations apart from the fact that people were speaking in the presence of a non-Arabic speaking person

ii) by comparing, whenever possible, the way in which the respondent addressed me, and the way he or she addressed a member of the family who was also present

iii) by making numerous observations of people's language behaviour outside the recording context, and in conversation with people other than myself

iv) by looking for patterns in people's language behaviour which strongly suggested similar explanations.

One father's comment may also be of interest here. He told me that he spoke to me as he spoke to his daughter ("and other people who are not one hundred percent Moroccan"). There is an indication here that people generally spoke to me as they did to their own children; it is also worthwhile recalling that many parents amongst the first generation did not think their children knew how to speak Arabic fluently.

The conversations mostly lasted between twenty and fifty minutes, although some sessions lasted an hour or more. The more lengthy recordings were generally obtained from members of the first generation, or from sessions in which more than one respondent took part. The sessions went well and people were cooperative. I then made transcriptions of each of the recordings enlisting the help of my respondents in understanding some dialectal words and phrases.

1.3 A Note on Transcription

There are two methods of transcription employed in this thesis for Arabic quotations. For the excerpts cited in chapter two (literary Arabic) the reader is referred to the system of transcription found in Haywood and Nahmad (1965:3-4). The method of transcription employed in chapters four, five and six (for the examples of colloquial Moroccan Arabic) is based upon Abdel-Massih (1974:3) with some alterations, and is as follows:

Vowels

a	c*a*t	ā	*a*rm
e	b*e*d	ē	h*ai*r
i	s*i*t	ī	s*ee*
u	p*u*t	ū	t*oo*

NB /:/ after a consonent lengthens the consonent, for example, *kul:* 'all'.

Consonents and semi vowels

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Alveo-Palatal	Palatal	Velar	Back-velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Stop											
voiceless	p		t ṭ				k		q		ʔ
voiced	b		d ḍ				g				
fricative											
voiceless		f	s ṣ		s̄			x		h	h
voiced		v	z		z̄			ɣ		ʕ	
nasal											
voiced	m			n							
lateral		•					•				
voiced		.	l				.				
flap											
voiced				r							
semi-vowel											
voiced	w					y					

Chapter Two

Language Attitudes

2.0 Introduction

It is well known that Arabic speaking people (and other language communities) tend to have strong views about their language and like to praise those attributes which they feel make it superior to other languages. Much has been written both on the attitudes people hold towards their own language or dialect and on their attitudes towards the languages or dialects of other people. This literature developed partly from the desire to know and catalogue the language attitudes of various peoples, and partly from the hope that such investigations would shed light on other fields of study. Saville-Troike, (1982) for instance, comments that,

> "One reason language attitudes are of particular interest to ethnographers is that individuals can seldom choose what attitudes to have toward a language or variety. Attitudes are acquired as a factor of group membership, as part of the process of enculturation in a particular speech community, and thus basic to its characterization" (1982:168-9).

A study of the attitudes of a community, it would seem, helps us to understand the nature of that community; in particular similarities or differences between its members may become more apparent as the result of such a study.

Language attitudes are an essential part of the Arabic

linguistic tradition, indeed many of the attitudes Arabic speakers currently hold are not new but may trace their roots back as far as the *Jāhilīya*, that is to pre-Islamic times. In this period the various Arab tribes each spoke their own particular dialect, however, they were united, to some extent, by a 'literary', or rather 'poetic', language which had evolved amongst the pre-Islamic poets. These poets were viewed with great esteem mingled with some awe by other Arabs, due to the high position they held in Arab society and for the eloquence and beauty of their poetry. Eloquence, together with archery and horsemanship, was popularly considered an esential characteristic of *al-Kāmil* ('the perfect man'), (Hitti: 1937:91). After the Arabic Qur'an had been revealed the language was also associated with Islam. As a result many Arabs came to regard the Arabic language as the most sublime of all languages. In particular, 'pure Arabic' or *fuṣḥā* was associated both with the language of the Qur'an and with the Prophet's dialect, (the Qurashi dialect) and many of the pious or well known figures of Islamic history strove to imitate *fuṣḥā* in their speech. "In early Islamic times, the names of those who possessed the qualities of eloquence and purism became proverbial. Of course, the Prophet Muhammad spoke impeccably as did his companions ..." (Chejne 1969:7).

Arab scholars have repeatedly brought forth arguments to justify their conviction that Arabic is the most excellent

of all languages. Ibn Jinni, (d.1002), in his book al-Khaṣā'iṣ, tries to show the validity of these arguments by answering any criticisms that might arise. An imaginary opponent suggests that any non-Arab could be equally as passionate about his language as the Arabs are of their own and the 'superiority' of Arabic is made to seem purely subjective. Ibn Jinni replies:

Law aḥassat al-ʿajamu bi-luṭfi sanāʿati al-ʿArabi fī hādhihi al-lughati, wa-mā fīhā min al-ghumūḍi wa-al-riqqati wa-al-diqqati la-iʿtadharat min iʿtirāfiha bi-lughatihā, faḍlan ʿan al-taqdīmi lahā, wa-al-tanwīhi minhā. (1957:242) ("If the non-Arabs were to perceive how graceful is the skill of the Arabs in their language, and the hidden things, delicacy and sublety found therein they would surely express their apologies for knowing their own language and for regarding it as prior [to Arabic] and for extolling it.")

He goes on to say that scholars skilled in both languages (the Arabic language and a non-Arabic language) found no comparison between the two, Arabic being far superior.

Many Arab scholars today have continued both to promote Arabic and to call for the greater use of *fuṣḥā* rather than the colloquial dialects[6]. The purity of Arabic is still an important issue; some regard its immutability as proof of the greatness of the language and of the religion and are consequently very anxious to preserve its 'original' form. The following examples give an idea of the attitude of some modern Arab scholars; they are additionally interesting because they are presumably indicative of the feelings of many Arabic speakers. The

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[6] Others, however, favour the greater use of the colloquial.

first writer is primarily concerned with the relationship between Arabic and Islam:

wa-al-Islāmu yarmī ilā al-tawḥīdi, tawḥīdi al-insānīyati fī al-ikhā'i al-insāni, wa-tawḥīdi al-basharīyati fī al-intāji al-māddī, wa tawḥīdi al-Muslimīna fi al-ḥadīthi bi-al-ʿArabīyati wa-lughatu al-Islāmi : al-ʿArabīyatu. ("Islam aims at unity, the unity of humanity by the brotherhood of man, the unity of the human race by material productivity and the unity of Muslims by speaking Arabic. The language of Islam is Arabic.")[7].

Many Muslims would agree that Arabic is the language of Islam in the sense that it is the language of the Qur'an; most Muslims would also recommend at least a basic knowledge of Arabic which is essential for reciting the Qur'an and useful when one performs the prayer. Some, such as the above scholar, would also argue that Muslims should actually know how to speak Arabic (that is, Classical Arabic) and that not only should Arabic unite the Arab Muslims but it should serve as a lingua franca for all Muslims of all nationalities.

Another Arab scholar has written an article entitled *al-Dārijatu al-Maghribīyatu: afṣaḥu al-lughāti al-ʿArabīyati*, or 'The Moroccan Dialect: The Purest of the Arabic Dialects.' This brings me to an issue with which Arabic speakers have grappled for centuries: who speaks the purest form of Arabic? In other words which dialect is closest to Classical Arabic, *fuṣḥā*? The writer describes an encounter with the people who live in the Moroccan desert ("from the heights of Kulīmīn to Mauritania"):

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[7] al-Lisān al-ʿArabī 1967:no.5 p.42

Lā yazālu qarḍu al-shiʿri irtijālan aw iʿdādan min al-umūri al-maʾlūfati fī kulli usratin taqrīban, wa-aktharuhum yaḥfuẓu min al-shiʿri qiṣṭan hāman wa-qad utīḥa li mundhu sanatayn taqrīban an almasa hādhihi al-ḥaqīqata ʿan kathabin fī tilkum al-jihati al-qāṣīyati min al-Maghribi, ḥaythu taḥaddathtu ilā masʾūlin fī aʿmāqi al-ṣaḥrāʾi iʿtarafa li bi-annahu lā yuḥsinu al-qirāʾata wa-lā al-kitābata, wa-lākinnahu anshadanī min shiʿri Ibn al-Rūmī wa-al-Mutanabbi wa-ghayruhumā shayʾan kathīran! wa-zawwadanī baʿḍu fuḍalāʾihim bi-qaṣāʾidi min intājihim ghāyata fī al-jazālati. ("In almost every family it is still customary to make up poetry either on the spot or in advance, and most of them learn a considerable portion of poetry by heart. It happened that almost two years ago I experienced this phenomenon at close quarters in that far flung region of Morocco, where I talked to one of these people [Lit: a representative] in the depths of the desert, who confided to me that he was proficient in neither reading nor writing and yet he recited to me a great deal of the poetry of Ibn al-Rumi and al-Mutanabbi and others besides! Some of their cleverest bestowed upon me *qasidas* of their own, of the utmost purity")[8].

The writer gives this example to illustrate his argument:

anna al-Maghrib ... lam tafsud lahājatuhu bi-qadri mā fasadat fi manāṭiqa ukhrā. ("that in Morocco ... the colloquial dialects have not been distorted to the extent that they have been distorted in other areas")[9].

It is characteristic of many Arabic speakers to consider the Arabic spoken by Bedouin people as 'purer' than that of the town-dwellers. The Moroccan Bedouin whom the writer encountered "in the depths of the desert" were so proficient in Classical Arabic that they could memorise large amounts of classical poetry and even compose exceedingly pure poetry of their own. The writer, by choosing such an example as this, shows that he is aware of the favourable associations of 'Bedouin Arabic' and Classical Arabic poetry - both of which are connected with the purity of Classical Arabic in the minds of many Arabic

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8 al-Lisān al-ʿArabī 1966 no.4 p.34

9 ibid p.33

speakers.

The reason why Arabs are so interested in determining which of the Arab dialects is the closest to Classical Arabic must derive from their attitude that Classical Arabic is the most excellent of all languages: thus the dialect closest to Classical Arabic will be the most excellent (or pure) of all dialects. The search for the purest variety of Arabic is of great interest to people for religious reasons, as well as to Arab nationalists and the proponents of 'Arabisation' (that is, in the case of Morocco, those who favour the predominant use of Arabic, rather than French, in all Moroccan institutions). We have noted already that pure Arabic, for whatever reason, has been looked for in the Qur'an, in the (old) Qurashi dialect and amongst the Bedouin. It is interesting to compare the remarks of Joshua A Fishman in his book Language and Nationalism with the efforts of Arabic speakers to find the 'pure' and 'original' Arabic language. Fishman writes (1972: 69),

"As for authenticity, where is it to be found? In the annals of nationalism, again and again, it is to be found in the past or in those regions or populations that have been least exposed to the contaminating influences of modern foreign forces (and, therefore, in those that remained most faithful to the purity of the past) ... A particularly frequent directive source of nationalist language planning, therefore, was the image of the noble and uncontaminated peasant [one might insert 'Bedouin'] who kept his language pure and intact, precisely as it had been in the golden past."

Not withstanding the fact that, for religious reasons, the purest Arabic is most commonly thought to be found in the

Qur'an, some Arabic speakers also seek 'authenticity', perhaps identity, from their 'golden past'. As Chejne says (1969: 18):

"Revival of the language, along with the study of Arab history, has long been regarded as the most important means for establishing the identity of the Arabs as a people capable of attaining as important an intellectual and creative position in the world today as the one they enjoyed in the past."

In reality, however, the linguistic situation in the Arab world is somewhat complicated, for besides several European languages, the colloquial and classical forms of Arabic are both in use, each having a specific role to play. Arabs are still divided as to whether Arabisation, (if it takes place at all), would involve the greater use of the colloquial dialects, (or one particular dialect), or the 'revival' of Classical Arabic. A pioneer in the study of this use of colloquial and classical languages was Charles A Ferguson who named the phenomenon *diglossia*, (literally: 'two tongues'), the classical forms of the language being a *high* form and the colloquial a *low* form. The designations *high* and *low* reflect the attitudes of the speakers towards the two varieties, and their attitudes partly determine in what way the two forms are used: thus the *high* form of Arabic is usually associated with *formality* and the *low* form with *informality*. One also notes that attitudes to language sometimes determine whether a language is used at all. In North Africa, for example,

"French was associated with colonization and disloyalty to the native language, ie. Arabic. Speakers who used to use French, especially during the national independence

revolution, were ridiculed and accused of being traitors collaborating with the enemy. Switching to Arabic, on the other hand, was an act of nationalism and solidarity ... However, when this negative attitude towards French changed after independence, the use of French was no longer ridiculed or stigmatized." (ʿAbd el-Jawad 1986a: 26).

Ferguson also wrote an article on "Myths about Arabic", in which he examined some of the attitudes to Arabic prevalent amongst Arabic speakers. Since both his articles were first published in 1959 and 1970 respectively, a number of studies have been made concerning the attitudes of Arabic speakers to various varieties of Arabic, including the classical variety. Many of these studies have taken place in the Arab world itself, (see ʿAbd el-Jawad 1986 a and b; Hussein and El-ʿAli 1989; Sawaie 1986; and Suleiman, forthcoming). Hussein and El-ʿAli (1989), for example, obtained results which indicated that their respondents (Jordanian students at Yarmouk University) evaluated Bedouin Arabic higher than the *madanī* (urban) and *fallāḥī* (rural) colloquial varieties, although modern standard Arabic was considered to be the most prestigious of all four varieties. ʿAbd el-Jawad (1986 b: 57) notes that,

"In almost every evaluative study done on Arabic speakers' attitudes toward the standard variety, the results indicate that Arab speakers have a favourable attitude toward it and think highly of the standard variety".

The results of the present study indeed strongly suggest that Moroccan immigrants in Edinburgh still consider Classical Arabic to be superior to their own colloquial dialect.

I mentioned in the introduction that the present study has made considerable use of the work of Abdelâli Bentahila who has written on "Language Attitudes Among Arabic-French Bilinguals in Morocco". His work is important both as an attitudinal study of educated people in Morocco, of interest to the scholar and layman alike, and because it goes some way towards addressing the question of Arabisation by seeking to discover the attitudes and uses of educated Moroccans regarding Arabic and French. Naturally, Arabisation is not dealt with here; however, for the purposes of comparison many of Bentahila's comments and the results of his research are very useful and will be referred to extensively in the analysis of language attitudes which follows.

2.1 A Note on Terminology: Classical and Colloquial Arabic

Throughout this thesis I will refer to different varieties of Arabic; Classical Arabic being distinguished from colloquial Arabic, (and colloquial Arabic being further divided into different dialects). The colloquial language was referred to in the questionnaire as 'Moroccan Arabic' or 'another type of Arabic' (other than Classical Arabic) and is taken in its usual sense to mean the type of Arabic people use daily at home or with people in non-formal contexts. Classical Arabic, on the other hand, refers to the language used in formal contexts (including religion

and academia), and is the term used by Ferguson (1959) in his idea of the 'classical-colloquial diglossia'. When dealing with my respondents' answers to the questionnaire it is highly relevant - and indeed necessary - to know something of *their* perception of Classical Arabic, since there has been some debate as to what Classical Arabic actually is (cf Kaye 1970). There was a general feeling amongst the Moroccans that Classical Arabic is any Arabic which is not the colloquial, being a type of Arabic which is not in everyday use. Some people referred to the fact that there are distinctions in vocabulary between the classical and colloquial varieties, as well as mentioning grammatical differences; also that Classical Arabic would be used in religious rituals (being the language of the Qur'an) and other formal occasions (such as talking to "high class people"), whereas the colloquial would have no place in such contexts. Furthermore, my respondents did not distinguish between the type of Classical Arabic which was used many centuries ago, for example by the pre-Islamic poets, and the variety used today in contexts such as television news broadcasts - at least they referred to the language in both these contexts as 'Classical Arabic' or *fuṣḥā*. This is how I propose to use the term in this thesis since it seems not only appropriate but necessary to employ a concept which is meaningful for my respondents in a study of their language behaviour and, particularly, when testing their language attitudes.

2.2 The Questionnaire and an Analysis of People's Responses

Charles Ferguson, in his article "Myths about Arabic" (1968), has discussed some of the language attitudes of Arabic speakers under the four headings: "the superiority of Arabic, the classical-colloquial diglossia, dialect rating, and the future of Arabic", (1968: 375-6). Some of the literature on language attitudes (for example Bentahila (1982)) led me to feel, as Ferguson points out, that "it is worthwhile to determine in just what respects Arabs feel their language to be superior" (1968: 376); it is also clear from the answers to the questionnaire that the 'superiority of Arabic' attitude will have to be considered with reference to the 'classical-colloquial diglossia'. Dialect rating and the future of Arabic will not be considered in the present discussion.

The results of Bentahila's study make it clear that Arabic is only considered superior in certain ways, for example his results indicate a preference for French rather than Arabic to be used for science and technology[10]. In another study carried out by Bounfour[11] the results also indicate that French is often associated with science, to

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10 The majority of his respondents are, however, confident that it is *possible* to teach science in Arabic.

11 Bounfour, A "Le bilinguilism des lyceens: essai de description". *Lamalif*, April 1973, in Bentahila (1983: 28)

the point that it is sometimes considered 'scientific' itself. It is also thought to be a 'civilised language' that is "necessary for modernisation, economic and technical progress" (Bentahila (1983: 28)),
whereas Arabic is considered as the language in which you talk about the past, religion and morality. This is interesting when it is compared to the answers of my respondents. The question was posed "How suited to scientific research do you think the following languages are?" If we leave aside for a moment the children's answers, the responses show almost equal support for Classical Arabic, Standard English and French - which are considered highly suitable by nearly all, see figure 3. This seems a little odd considering that both Bentahila and Bounfour reported that Arabic is not considered to be very 'scientific' by most of their respondents. Furthermore, a second question asked of my respondents, "How useful do you think the following languages are?" can be compared to Bentahila's questions on 'the most practical language' (ibid: 33) and 'the most useful language for studies' (ibid). His results make it clear that French and Moroccan colloquial Arabic were both thought to be more 'practical' than Classical Arabic, and French was considered to be by far the most 'useful language for studies'. However, my respondents again answered somewhat differently: Classical Arabic, together with Standard English and French, was judged highly favourably by the first generation, whereas Moroccan

Figure 3

"How suited to scientific research do you think the following languages are?"
(Fifteen respondents: first generation)

	Classical Arabic	Moroccan Arabic	Another type of Arabic	Scottish English	Standard English	French	Spanish
Very suited	80.0%	13.3%	06.6%	26.6%	93.3%	86.6%	46.6%
Well suited	00.0%	20.0%	13.3%	13.3%	00.0%	00.0%	13.3%
Average	06.6%	13.3%	06.6%	20.0%	00.0%	00.0%	20/0%
Not very suited	00.0%	20.0%	20.0%	20.0%	00.0%	00.0%	00.0%
Not at all suited	00.0%	06.6%	00.0%	00.0%	00.0%	00.0%	00.0%
Blank	13.3%	26.6%	53.0%	20.0%	06.6%	13.3%	20.0%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Figure 4

"How useful do you think the following languages are?"
(Fifteen respondents: first generation)

	Classical Arabic	Moroccan Arabic	Another type of Arabic	Scottish English	Standard English	French	Spanish
Very useful	93.3%	40.0%	06.6%	33.3%	93.3%	80.0%	46.6%
Quite useful	00.0%	33.3%	06.6%	26.6%	00.0%	06.6%	40.0%
Average	00.0%	13.3%	26.6%	20.0%	00.0%	06.6%	06.6%
Not very useful	00.0%	06.6%	13.3%	00.0%	00.0%	00.0%	00.0%
Not at all useful	00.0%	00.0%	00.0%	06.6%	00.0%	00.0%	00.0%
Blank	06.6%	06.6%	46.6%	13.3%	06.6%	06.6%	06.6%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Arabic, Scottish English and Spanish were thought less useful, see figure 4.

How can this discrepancy be explained? Perhaps the answer lies in a combination of factors. The majority of my respondents (that is of the first generation), being poorly educated (see fig. 2), have not been exposed to French to any great degree, as have Bentahila's Arabic-French bilinguals. These people would not, therefore, be considered as Arabic-French bilinguals, except for one man who was educated more in French than in Arabic up to the age of eighteen and possibly a Moroccan student who also took part in the questionnaire, (we shall see what their individual responses were later).. It is quite clear that French had an important role in the education of Bentahila's respondents, particularly for scientific subjects. We are told that in Morocco, in the primary school "as recently as 1978 arithmetic and elementary natural science were taught through the medium of French" (ibid: 12) and "in secondary school French is still the medium of instruction for all scientific subjects ... As for higher education ... It is the only language of instruction used in the faculties of medicine, science and engineering" (ibid).

Naturally 'myths' about language abound amongst people of all classes and levels of education and it could be suggested that the highly educated Arabic-French

bilinguals in Bentahila's study have been conditioned by their education to accept French rather than Arabic as the 'useful', 'scientific' language; whereas my respondents who are not so educated tend to be less likely to connect science with French in such an exclusive way. Of particular interest to this discussion are the answers of the two respondents mentioned above - the Arabic-French bilingual and the Moroccan student. As with all the other respondents of the first generation they both found Classical Arabic very 'useful'; however, they were the only two who did not find it a highly 'suitable language for scientific research'. The Arabic-French bilingual left the answer blank here (indicating only that he considered French and Standard English as highly suitable) and the student thought Classical Arabic was only suitable to an average degree. In this respect the answers of these two respondents accord with those generally expressed by the Arabic-French bilinguals in Bentahila's study.

There is another factor, however, which I feel may throw light from a somewhat different perspective on these responses to my questionnaire; which may in fact provide an alternative explanation for my respondents' reactions, or rather explain the processes of thought behind *some* of their reactions. This factor is 'language loyalty'[12].

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12 'Language loyalty' was a term employed by Weinreich (1953) to "designate the state of mind in which the language ... as an intact entity, and in contrast to

The alternative proposal is this: that French and Standard English, because of their associations with modernisation and technical progress generally, are naturally chosen by people as being the most 'useful' and 'scientific' languages and my respondents are in this way very similar to Bentahila's bilinguals. Where they differ is in their expressed perception and appreciation of Arabic as a useful and valuable language. This is not to say that Arabic is not valued by Bentahila's respondents in Morocco, but it suggests that Moroccans in Edinburgh may need to express a deeper loyalty towards their language now they are living in a non-Arab country.

There are two further remarks of interest here. Firstly, Bentahila makes it clear that most of his respondents accept the possibility of teaching science in Arabic although they would not want to put this possibility into practice. He talks of a "conflict between ideology and practicality" (ibid: 152): people's loyalty to the ideal of Arabisation is largely outweighed by practical needs. The pressing issue of the Arabisation of Morocco is not one which directly concerns my respondents or their children; perhaps they do not connect their answers with the idea of Arabisation, and in any case they can *afford* to express support for Arabic now they are not much affected by the question of practical needs.

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other languages, assumes a high position in a scale of values, a position in need of being 'defended' ..." (1953: 99).

If there are practical needs my respondents feel concerned about, their loyalty to Arabic and desire to 'defend' it are greater than their apprehensions about its usefulness. This brings me to the second point. The idea of language loyalty is partially expressed by Ferguson when he discusses 'dialect rating' (1968: 379), but for our purposes is better defined by Laura Nader who develops Ferguson's oft-quoted experiment, (in which he trys to find the place of origin of an Arab by asking him which Arabic dialect is the best, the premise being that the Arab will choose his own dialect). Laura Nader's contribution to the experiment is her realisation that the Arab's answer depended on *where* he was when the question was asked: "A man from Damascus visiting in Beirut would belligerantly defend his dialect as the best, but in Damascus he would say the Bedouin dialect was best" (1968: 279). Although the object of discussion is the 'dialect' here and not a 'language' a comparison is both interesting and useful. A Moroccan in Edinburgh could be compared to the Damascene in Beirut in as far as his answers to certain questions may be influenced by the fact that he is not living in his home country. If he were to return home and we were to question him in the same way we might find in his answers an indication that his loyalty to Arabic has decreased because the society in which he finds himself no longer promotes another language in such a way as to threaten his and his children's knowledge of Arabic (nor, it should be noted, his Arab culture): from the

security of his own town the Damascene felt able to praise the Bedouin dialect above his own. One notes from the above that it is possible for a Moroccan in Edinburgh to express loyalty towards Arabic for two reasons: the first being that he can *afford* to be loyal since 'practical needs' do not really concern him; the second that he *cannot* afford *not* to be loyal since he is faced with the possibility, realised in his descendants, of 'losing' Arabic in favour of the dominant language of his surroundings. In this latter case Arabic has become an emblem of his identity and is in need of being defended.

Although the answers I received to these questions on 'scientific' and 'useful' languages were not weighted in favour of French alone it is still worth emphasising that answers tended to be biased towards the three languages: Classical Arabic, French and Standard English, which leads me to feel that respondents may also be expressing admiration for the standard language as opposed to the colloquial: Standard Arabic as opposed to Moroccan Arabic and Standard English as opposed to Scottish English. As far as French is concerned it is likely that in the minds of my respondents it does not imply a colloquial language since they would generally encounter it in the field of education and in connection with prestigious institutions such as "banks, airports, travel agencies and post offices" (Bentahila (1983: 15)). The fact that Spanish is not valued so highly as French by my respondents is

perhaps due to its less influential position in Morocco, where it tends to be confined to the Northern parts. Additionally Spanish is probably not viewed as the language of dominant culture, as are French and English.

It is possible that the different answers given by the groups above indicate that Bentahila's respondents are making these particular judgements not so much from the viewpoint of standard versus colloquial language, which it seems has some influence on the judgements of my respondents here, but more in reaction to an opposition between Arabic and French. I would, therefore, tentatively suggest that the distinction between the classical and colloquial languages is of greater significance to the less educated members of those who took part in my questionnaire than it is to Bentahila's Arabic-French bilinguals. This seems to be supported somewhat by a suggestion Bentahila makes, (having noted how the use of French and Moroccan Arabic correlates with the contrast between formality and informality): This contrast suggests that Moroccan Arabic and French have clearly distinct roles to play "in the bilingual's speech behaviour, so that they can be said to stand in a diglossic relationship, in the sense in which Fishman ... uses this term" (ibid: 91)[13]. The picture that begins to

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[13] Fishman defines diglossia as "a characterization of the *societal allocation* of *functions* to different languages and varieties" whereas "bilingualism is essentially a characterization of *individual linguistic versatility*" (1971: 83))

emerge is one in which the importance of the classical-colloquial diglossia has been blurred by interference from another diglossia: the use of Moroccan Arabic and French.

2.2.1. The Classical-Colloquial Diglossia

The two varieties of Arabic, 'classical' and 'colloquial', or 'high' and 'low' (Ferguson (1959)), make the Arab linguistic situation somewhat complex and can cause confusion as I will illustrate presently. Very often the term 'Arabic' is used with no further explanation and there is nothing to be gleaned from the context whether the classical or colloquial language is intended. At times it is possible, and it is tempting to do so, to speak of 'Arabic' in such a way that any Arabic is described; an appeal being made to people's sense of Arab linguistic unity. Moroccans in general, including my respondents, make a distinction between Classical Arabic, often referred to as *al-ʿArabīya*, and the constellation of Moroccan varieties, referred to individually as *al-dārija*. When we have communicated in English, however, the term 'Arabic' has been used for both varieties although, interestingly, different people, on a number of occasions, have described the colloquial as 'Gaelic' and compared its relationship to Classical Arabic to that between Gaelic and English. When the term Gaelic is not used there is often confusion. One woman I have talked to declared that "Arabic is easy!"; whereas, on a separate occasion, the

Moroccan student I have mentioned argued that "Arabic is difficult!" Was one describing the classical and the other the colloquial language? Alternatively, 'Arabic' may have been used in the generic sense. Or were they each simply expressing a different opinion - and if so what was that opinion? The questionnaire which I gave out to my respondents was designed to test their attitudes to both Classical Arabic and Moroccan Arabic.

2.2.2. The 'Superiority of Arabic'

The idea of the 'superiority of Arabic' will be examined, with reference to the classical-colloquial diglossia, by looking at some other answers to the questionnaire. My respondents have tended to show admiration for standard languages as the useful and scientific languages but in what way, if any, do they view Arabic as being the most superior language?

In response to the two questions about the 'richness' and 'beauty' of languages Classical Arabic was consistently marked 'very rich' and 'very beautiful' by everybody of the first generation except one person who thought it was only 'rich' and one who left both questions blank. No doubt Classical Arabic is judged by my respondents to be much richer than Moroccan Arabic and, to a slightly lesser extent, much more beautiful (see figure 5 and 6). Charles Ferguson noted in his article that Arabs feel richness and

Figure 5

"How rich do you think the following languages are?"
(Fifteen respondents: first generation)

	Classical Arabic	Moroccan Arabic	Another type of Arabic	Scottish English	Standard English	French	Spanish
Very rich	80.0%	13.3%	13.3%	06.6%	46.6%	33.3%	26.6%
Quite rich	06.6%	26.6%	20.0%	20.0%	26.6%	33.3%	13.3%
Average	00.0%	40.0%	20.0%	40.0%	06.6%	06.6%	26.6%
Not very rich	00.0%	00.0%	00.0%	06.6%	00.0%	00.0%	00.0%
Not at all rich	00.0%	00.0%	00.0%	06.6%	00.0%	00.0%	00.0%
Blank	13.3%	20.0%	46.6%	20.0%	20.0%	26.6%	33.3%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Figure 6

"How beautiful do you think the following languages are?"
(Fifteen respondents: first generation)

	Classical Arabic	Moroccan Arabic	Another type of Arabic	Scottish English	Standard English	French	Spanish
Very beautiful	86.6%	33.3%	13.3%	20.0%	46.6%	20.0%	13.3%
Quite beautiful	00.0%	33.3%	13.3%	13.3%	33.3%	53.3%	26.6%
Average	00.0%	20.0%	33.3%	33.3%	00.0%	13.3%	33.3%
Not very beautiful	00.0%	00.0%	00.0%	13.3%	00.0%	00.0%	06.6%
Not at all beautiful	00.0%	06.6%	00.0%	06.6%	00.0%	00.0%	00.0%
Blank	13.3%	06.6%	40.0%	13.3%	20.0%	13.3%	20.0%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

beauty to be two features of Arabic which contribute to its superiority, and indirectly draws attention to the perceived superiority of Classical Arabic over the colloquial:

"For many purposes even the illiterate peasant will prefer a classical-sounding highly literary Arabic which he only half understands to a pure conversational Arabic which he understands perfectly", (1968: 376).

This attitude towards Classical Arabic may well be rooted in the religious attitude of people, as I mentioned in the introduction to this chapter. I once heard an Egyptian Muslim declare that written Arabic is the most beautiful language to look at. This attitude may well stem from its association with the Qur'an and the tradition of 'Islamic calligraphy', although, it should be noted, the style in which the Qur'an was first written must have been rather different to that of the Arabic calligraphers who came later. Similarly, because of this association with the Qur'an some people have the attitude that Classical Arabic is the most beautiful of languages in any respect. It is not, however, purely for religious reasons that some people consider Arabic, or rather Classical Arabic, the most 'beautiful' and most 'rich' of languages. As was mentioned above any language community, as a whole, likes to think of its language as the most superior in some respect. A Christian Arab in Damascus once told me that Arabic has the richest vocabulary, that any word could be found in Arabic and that it is much richer in this respect than English which is poor in comparison. I feel that my respondents are influenced in their attitudes both by

religious feeling and national pride. In almost all the homes I have visited, nine separate households in all, the external trappings of religion, at least, are in evidence, including one or more Qur'anic inscriptions hanging on the walls. The people I have visited have themselves pointed out to me these inscriptions on the walls and have remarked on their beauty. Several children of these families are taught Classical Arabic at the Moroccan school or at home (sometimes by a private tutor) and as part of this teaching usually memorise or learn to recite the Qur'an, which shows the importance parents attach to Classical Arabic and its association with religion if nothing more. The reason why I feel people may also be exhibiting national pride in the way they have responded to these two questions goes back to language loyalty which was discussed earlier and, by extension, cultural loyalty since the cultural heritage embodies the literature (written in Classical Arabic).

It is of interest to see whether Bentahila also found that his respondents strongly associated Classical Arabic with 'beauty' and 'richness'. In two separate tests Bentahila's results showed that a majority considered Classical Arabic to be a richer and more beautiful language than either French or Moroccan Arabic. The respondents themselves suggested reasons for their answers: the beauty of Classical Arabic was attributed to its "long literary heritage" and by a few to its "bond

with religion and Arab nationalism", and its richness was attributed to a lesser degree to the literature and again to its "links with religion and patriotism", (1983: 31).

There is another reason for attributing richness to a language which was given by one of my respondents. I had been surprised to see that this respondent had specifically mentioned Egyptian Arabic as being very 'rich' (whereas Moroccan Arabic was not) and I asked him the reason for this. He replied that Egyptian Arabic is very 'rich' because it is widely understood and used; it therefore has a richer vocabulary and is full of expressions. It is true that a considerable number of people in the Arab world have been exposed to Egyptian Arabic through the medium of television and cinema especially. Whether Egyptian Arabic is truely richer in vocabulary than other Arabic dialects does not matter here. What is interesting is that this respondent connects the widespread use of a language (for a variety of functions) with the development and maintenance of its vocabulary. Classical Arabic, Scottish English, Standard English and Spanish were also marked as 'very rich' by this respondent, but French, like Moroccan Arabic he found neither 'rich' nor 'poor'. The answers are somewhat puzzling. The reaction to French is perhaps explained in the light of his answers to the four questions on language proficiency, (that is, in reading, writing, speaking and understanding). From these answers it is clear that he

is, or perceives himself to be, the least proficient in French. Possibly he has not been exposed to much French and considers it to be used in a limited way and in only one or a few countries. On the other hand one can explain his attitude to Spanish since coming from Tangier in the North where Spanish used to be employed fairly widely, and also watching a lot of sport on the television with a *Spanish* commentary, as I have seen him do, he must have experienced Spanish in a wider variety of situations than French and correspondingly *his own* vocabulary in Spanish is richer than his French vocabulary. As for his reaction to Moroccan Arabic it seems to indicate a recognition of its limited use in television and cinema and its restriction to one area of the Arab world (as are all the Arabic colloquials, other than Egyptian, restricted somewhat to their country of origin). On the other hand Classical Arabic is used throughout the Arabic speaking world.

I have noted that this respondent also found Scottish English and Standard English to be 'very rich'. This response to English is not surprising when one considers that English is the main language of his environment. He constantly comes into contact with Scottish English at work, in the street and in his own home; as for Standard English this he encounters mostly on television. It seems likely that he is aware of the dominant position of English in the world, and again associates its frequency

of use in a wide variety of situations with a highly developed and expansive vocabulary. It is slightly odd, however, that he rates Scottish English more highly here than Moroccan Arabic, considering that both these languages are colloquial varieties and, moreover, that Moroccan Arabic is his native tongue. It is possible that he has made these judgements on the basis of comparisons between the standard, or classical, language and the corresponding colloquial variety; that is he judges Moroccan Arabic by comparing it to Classical Arabic, (the latter, as we have seen, is often judged to be the superior of the two) and he compares Scottish English and Standard English, (he will not necessarily consider Standard English to be better than Scottish English). If he were to compare Moroccan Arabic and Scottish English directly with each other his responses might well be different. This is an interesting idea since it reminds one of how judgements and, more specifically, attitudes are formed in relation to other judgements or attitudes; one should also bear in mind that people's responses to the questionnaire may not have been the same had the questions been posed in a different way, (for example if the questions on Scottish English and Moroccan Arabic had been placed directly one after the other).

2.2.3 Other Attitudes

So far I have dealt only with the responses of the first

generation. I will consider two more questions on attitude with reference to this group of people. The first of these questions tested to see how 'lively' languages are considered to be. Admittedly I was expecting a tendency for the two varieties, Moroccan Arabic and Scottish English, to be judged the most 'lively', having in mind their association with everyday conversation as opposed to the rather bookish connotations of standard language; but this expectation proved ill-founded. In fact both Moroccan Arabic and Classical Arabic were judged, to a slight degree, to be the most 'lively' overall, (possibly reflecting the respondents' proficiency here and also their loyalty to Classical Arabic); but there was no significant pattern in people's reactions and results were very mixed. (see figure 7)

A majority of Bentahila's respondents, however, described French as a lively language, rather than Classical Arabic or Moroccan Arabic. Bentahila compares this result with answers to the question on whether languages are "able to keep up with the modern world", where French again was chosen by most people (although Classical Arabic was chosen by a majority). Bentahila's rather different but more significant results to this question may be due to the term 'lively' being interpreted by his respondents in a different way to mine; especially since they may have compared it with adjectives from other questions such as "able to keep up with the modern world" (1983:34) and

Figure 7

"How lively do you think the following languages are?"
(Fifteen respondents: first generation)

	Classical Arabic	Moroccan Arabic	Another type of Arabic	Scottish English	Standard English	French	Spanish
Very lively	73.3%	53.3%	06.6%	33.3%	46.6%	33.3%	26.6%
Quite lively	13.3%	26.6%	20.0%	00.0%	20.0%	26.6%	13.3%
Average	00.0%	13.3%	06.6%	46.6%	13.3%	20.0%	13.3%
Not very lively	00.0%	00.0%	13.3%	00.0%	00.0%	06.6%	13.3%
Not at all lively	00.0%	00.0%	06.6%	00.0%	00.0%	00.0%	06.6%
Blank	13.3%	06.6%	46.6%	20.0%	20.0%	13.3%	26.6%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Figure 8

"How difficult do you think the following languages are?"
(Fifteen respondents: first generation)

	Classical Arabic	Moroccan Arabic	Another type of Arabic	Scottish English	Standard English	French	Spanish
Very difficult	53.3%	26.6%	20.0%	06.6%	40.0%	26.6%	06.6%
Quite difficult	40.0%	20.0%	00.0%	33.3%	13.3%	20.0%	26.6%
Average	00.0%	20.0%	20.0%	26.6%	33.3%	33.3%	20.0%
Not very difficult	06.6%	00.0%	06.6%	20.0%	06.6%	13.3%	13.3%
Not at all difficult	00.0%	26.6%	06.6%	00.0%	06.6%	06.6%	13.3%
Blank	00.0%	06.6%	46.6%	13.3%	00.0%	00.0%	20.0%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

"dead" (ibid:35) which were not present in my questionnaire, and which could have influenced the way they understood this term, (one notes again how people's responses may be affected by the context in which the questions appear).

The other question tested to see how 'difficult' people think the languages are. "How difficult do you think the following languages are?" is an ambiguous question for it could be understood to mean either how difficult the respondent himself finds a language or how complex and inherently difficult a language is perceived to be, whether one speaks it or not. It was hoped that by looking at this question in conjunction with that on language proficiency it would be fairly clear in what way people had understood it.

As one can see in figure 8, Classical Arabic is the only language which most people found 'difficult' or 'very difficult'. If this is compared with their expressed proficiency in this language (see figures 9,10,11 and 12) one can see that they are more confident of their knowledge of Classical Arabic than any other language apart from Moroccan Arabic; whereas the results for Spanish show that it is considered far less 'difficult' than Classical Arabic yet the respondents do not tend to be proficient in it. It may then be concluded that people are, generally, answering how inherently difficult they

Figure 9

"How do you rate your ability in reading the following languages?"

(Fifteen respondents: first generation)

	Arabic	English	French	Spanish
Very well	66.6%	40.0%	13.3%	00.0%
Well	06.6%	13.3%	06.6%	06.6%
Average	06.6%	26.6%	33.3%	20.0%
A little	00.0%	06.6%	26.6%	13.3%
Not at all	13.3%	06.6%	06.6%	40.0%
Blank	06.6%	06.6%	13.3%	20.0%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Figure 10

"How do you rate your ability in writing the following languages?"

(Fifteen respondents: first generation)

	Arabic	English	French	Spanish
Very well	46.6%	06.6%	06.6%	00.0%
Well	13.3%	13.3%	13.3%	00.0%
Average	20.0%	40.0%	26.6%	13.3%
A little	00.0%	13.3%	26.6%	13.3%
Not at all	13.3%	13.3%	13.3%	60.0%
Blank	06.6%	13.3%	13.3%	13.3%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Figure 11

"How do you rate your ability in speaking the following languages?"
(Fifteen respondents: first generation)

	Classical Arabic	Moroccan Arabic	Another type of Arabic	Scottish English	Standard English	French	Spanish
Very well	26.6%	66.6%	00.0%	26.6%	00.0%	06.6%	00.0%
Well	20.0%	26.6%	20.0%	20.0%	20.0%	06.6%	06.6%
Average	26.6%	00.0%	26.6%	26.6%	20.0%	26.6%	20.0%
A little	00.0%	00.0%	06.6%	13.3%	13.3%	33.3%	06.6%
Not at all	06.6%	00.0%	06.6%	06.6%	06.6%	13.3%	46.6%
Blank	20.0%	06.6%	40.0%	06.6%	40.0%	13.3%	20.0%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Figure 12

"How do you rate your ability in understanding the following languages?"
(Fifteen respondents: first generation)

	Classical Arabic	Moroccan Arabic	Another type of Arabic	Scottish English	Standard English	French	Spanish
Very well	60.0%	66.6%	26.6%	20.0%	13.3%	00.0%	00.0%
Well	20.0%	13.3%	20.0%	13.3%	26.6%	20.0%	13.3%
Average	00.0%	00.0%	20.0%	40.0%	26.6%	26.6%	13.3%
A little	06.6%	00.0%	06.6%	06.6%	06.6%	20.0%	20.0%
Not at all	00.0%	00.0%	06.6%	00.0%	00.0%	13.3%	33.3%
Blank	13.3%	20.0%	20.0%	20.0%	26.6%	20.0%	20.0%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

think these languages are. When I first started field work I had gained the impression from a few people that they considered 'Arabic' to be the most difficult of languages, and I note that the student (whom I mentioned above, see section 2.2.1), who expressed such a view to me when I first had an interview with him, was consistent in his opinion when answering the questions in the questionnaire. He finds Classical Arabic 'very difficult'; Moroccan Arabic, French and Spanish are 'difficult'; Scottish English is 'average'; and, interestingly, Standard English is 'not very difficult', that is it is the easiest of all the languages. The difference between Scottish English and Standard English may actually be explained by his *proficiency* here, for he considers himself a degree more proficient in Standard English and it would seem natural for Scottish English to seem more difficult to him. However, it is not likely that the marked difference between his attitude towards English and Arabic in his answers is attributable to his relative proficiency, since he still considers Arabic more difficult although he knows it the best.

It is very interesting that my respondents tend to find Classical Arabic a 'very difficult' language when one compares this result to Charles Ferguson's remarks on the 'logic' of Arabic, and how some Arabic speakers (and others) seem to perceive this as one of Arabic's superior qualities. The 'logic' of Arabic is seen to lie in its

derivational system; Charles Ferguson notes that

"the admiration for the very complex but highly regular and symmetrical structure of the derivational system is still strong. The uneducated are relatively inarticulate about this, and it is the educated or half-educated who are most specific" (1968: 377).

With reference to this it could be argued that many of my respondents (who are largely 'uneducated') are confusing complex with difficult; that they do not appreciate the 'logic' of their language which, once the rules have been mastered, is thought to be beautifully simple. But this does not explain the student's reaction (who is considered to be one of my 'educated' respondents). When I questioned him futher he pointed out, by way of example, the specific difficulty in Arabic of knowing how to read a word because of the absence of vowel signs; in fact he contrasted Arabic with English and quite passionately argued that although English spelling is idiosyncratic it is extremely easy to learn. His attitude may possibly be explained by referring to Ferguson once again: "In some Arab circles today there is a feeling of impatience with some of the elaborate grammatical machinery of the classical language", (ibid); perhaps this respondent is expressing negative views about Classical Arabic. However, I noticed no dissatisfaction whatsoever in the student's attitude to the classical language, rather he exhibited a tremendous pride in speaking the language "which", as he said, "all the prophets spoke", as well as considering it to be the 'richest' and most 'beautiful' of languages.

Another fairly highly educated respondent, the Arabic-French bilingual, also considered Arabic to be the most 'difficult' of the languages, whilst judging it to be the 'richest' and most 'beautiful' of them too. It is striking that these two people - who are two of the most educated of the respondents - are the only ones who find Classical Arabic the most 'difficult' of all languages. Everyone else either mentions at least one language which they consider as 'difficult' as Classical Arabic or they judge some languages to be most 'difficult'. The absence of general patterning in their responses obviously indicates the absence of a common attitude here. People with less education are naturally less likely to be conscious of the Arabic grammatical system (as Ferguson implies above), on the basis of which educated people such as those referred to by Ferguson describe 'Arabic' as a 'logical' language, and since they are unlikely to be exposed to 'educated' ideas they are freer to give their own personal opinion.

As for the two more educated respondents above, although it is hard to say whether they consider Classical Arabic particularly superior on the grounds that it is a very 'difficult' language, I think one may conclude at least that their responses do not indicate a negative attitude. I have already noted that the student has not expressed dissatisfaction with Classical Arabic; nor do I think that the Arabic-French bilingual considers a 'difficult'

language to be inferior to 'easy' or 'less difficult' languages. It is significant that where he has not given Classical Arabic the highest evaluation such as 'very beautiful' he does not mention it at all in his answers, (suggesting that he will not consider - or admit - it to be inferior in any respect). He only directly describes his attitude towards it in two places, where he marks it as 'very useful' and 'very difficult'; but he reveals his attitude again, indirectly, by his response to the question: "Do you want your children to have a good knowledge of Classical Arabic?" to which he replies that he very much hopes they will. This person's responses to Classical Arabic are very interesting since, despite being one of the better educated Moroccans in the community, he claims that he hardly knows Classical Arabic at all; the reason he gives for this is that he has spent his time acquiring French, and at school was not given the chance to study Classical Arabic properly. He exhibits embarrassment - almost guilt - in his lack of ability when I have sensed that he dislikes to be recorded speaking Arabic and he half-jokingly says to me, "Don't let the other Moroccans hear me!" This is reminiscent of Laura Nader's remarks, who describes the same phenomenon:

"This class of people [Arabic-French bilinguals] often indirectly express guilt feelings about their inadequate knowledge of Arabic, which they attribute to the fact that they had to devote much of their time to the learning of French," (1968: 278, footnote).

His awkwardness about his ignorance may have contributed to his feelings of respect for the language; perhaps he

bolsters his confidence by a conviction that a true understanding of such a difficult language as Classical Arabic is for the scholars alone. Whatever his attitude is, whether he feels respect and admiration for Classical Arabic or not, one thing is clear: that he desires his children to know a language which he has never mastered.

2.2.4 The Second Generation

One of the issues to be addressed in this chapter is the extent to which the children have absorbed their parents' attitudes towards some of the languages. My first impressions on meeting the families had been that some of the second generation at least, thought of Classical Arabic as a more 'educated' and prestigious language than Moroccan Arabic; as being 'proper' Arabic whereas Moroccan Arabic was a rather debased version. Certainly this attitude to the classical and colloquial languages is widespread amongst Arabic speakers; their own terminology for the two varieties is somewhat symbolic of this, Classical Arabic being *al-fuṣḥā*, 'the pure' language, or *al-ʿArabīya*, 'Arabic' and the colloquial Arabic being *al-dārija*, the 'popular' or colloquial language, (never referred to as *al-ʿArabīya*). My reasons for surmising that this might be the attitude of some of the second generation is that on two or three occasions I was told by different individuals that I probably had a better knowledge of Arabic than they had. They meant, of course,

that my knowledge of Classical Arabic was greater, the fact that they could communicate in Moroccan Arabic in a fairly fluent way did not seem to constitute in their minds a proper knowledge of Arabic. The questionnaire enabled me to investigate this matter in a more systematic and thorough manner and I shall return to it presently when I look at the children's responses to some of the attitudinal questions.

The responses also give some indication of how often the children use Arabic (both the colloquial and classical varieties) and whether they will try to maintain their knowledge of it in the future. When I visited the families I noticed that some parents were using more Arabic than others to communicate with their children. Some of the children were also rather shy of speaking Arabic in front of me and siblings tended to speak English together. There are two children who have a very poor grasp of Moroccan Arabic. It is not surprising that their elder brother is considerably more fluent since, as his parents tell me, Arabic was the main language used in the home up to the time he went to school and for some time after too; by the time both his younger siblings had started school English had taken over as the dominant language in the home. These three children of ages ranging from six to ten, were actually too young to take part in the questionnaire but I have had several opportunities of observing their attitudes towards Arabic

and English in a less formal way. Together with the fact that the children must obviously use English at school, television is a huge barrier against the children communicating in Arabic. The parents' own attitudes are also very important. In this family I have just mentioned the father does make an attempt to teach the two older children Arabic reading and writing, starting with some basic words from an old primary school text book from Morocco. The children's reading and writing is actually very impressive and they obviously enjoy the infrequent lessons with their father; however, for the speaking of Arabic there is a marked lack of enthusiasm.

The first issue with which I propose to deal, however, involves the children's attitudes not to Arabic, but to Standard English and Scottish English. I was not struck particularly by anything in this connection when I first met the children but there are a few interesting results from the questionnaire that I would like to mention. (As I have already noted (section 2.1) a study of people's language attitudes can help one to gain a clearer picture of a language community, and encourages one to examine closely some of the characteristics of its members which contribute to the nature of that community).

2.2.4.1 Scottish versus English

Nine members of the second generation (five females and

four males) filled out a questionnaire. For each of the attitudinal questions people were asked their opinion about Scottish English and Standard English. On examining the data I was interested to see that results were fairly consistent within families. Figure 13 shows these respondents in their family groups and how they answered eight attitudinal questions on these two varieties. Family 'A' tends to give Scottish English rather negative evaluations and the (female) member of family 'B' (respondent 4) almost ignores Scottish English altogether, whilst showing a highly favourable opinion of Standard English. The contrast is quite distinct between these two families and families 'C' and 'D'. In the latter two people tend to prefer Scottish English or, at least, judge Scottish English and Standard English almost equally. Respondent 5, a boy of eleven, was a little too young for the questionnaire and from the questions on attitude chose only to answer the question on how 'necessary' he found the languages; yet it is still of interest that he finds Standard English not 'necessary' at all. Respondent 9 (female), in a similar way to 4 (in her response to Scottish English), chooses to ignore Standard English for four of the questions. But where we may compare her answers for the two varieties, Scottish English is quite definitely considered the better language, and the results of respondent 6 (female) also indicate a small preference for Scottish English. Respondents 7 (female) and 8 (male) seem to judge both varieties as being fairly equal.

Figure 13

"How rich/beautiful/necessary/lively/useful/outdated/suited to scientific research/difficult do you think the following languages are?"

(Nine respondents: second generation)

Family	Respondent	Rich		Beautiful		Necessary		Lively		Useful		Outdated		Suited to Scientific Research		Difficult	
		Sc	Std	Sc	Std	Sc	Std	Sc	Std	Sc	Std	Sc	Std	Sc	Std	Sc	Std
'A'	1	d	b	d	b	c	b	b	c	d	b	e	d	d	a	c	b
	2	c	a	c	b	c	b	b	b	d	b	b	c	d	c	d	b
	3	d	c	e	c	d	b	c	d	d	b	d	d	e	b	c	c
'B'	4		a		a		a		b		a		e		a	d	b
'C'	5					b	e										
	6	a	b	b	b	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	b	b	b	d	d
	7		a	c	b	a	b	b	c	a		d	c	b	a	c	c
'D'	8	b	a	c	b	a	b	a	b	a	a	d	c	b	b	d	d
	9	c		c		c	d	b		b		d	a	a	e	e	d

For example for the question on how 'rich' the languages are thought to be: a = very rich, b = quite rich, c = average, d = not very rich, e = not at all rich

NB: Responses are measured on a scale a-e

Abbreviations
Sc = Scottish English
Std = Standard English

Most of the children, however, thought Standard English more 'beautiful', 'scientific' and 'richer' than Scottish English. It is in the responses to how 'useful' and 'necessary' and perhaps how 'lively' and 'outdated' they think the languages to be that we gain a clear impression of positive feelings towards Scottish English. Standard English tended to be considered less 'lively' and more 'outdated'. It is suggested here that the reason for this is that the respondent views the language he uses most at home (ie. Scottish English here; see figure 16 below), as being less 'outdated', whereas a more 'serious' and 'literary' language (such as Standard English) appears to him more 'outdated' because it is not connected, to any great extent, with his experience of modern, everyday life. This would explain the reaction of those who prefer Standard English and yet consider it somewhat more 'outdated' than Scottish English, (for example, respondent 2). However, it is strange that respondent 6 who rates Scottish English slightly higher than Standard English also thinks that Scottish English is more 'outdated'. It is possible that she understands 'outdated' to mean 'old' or 'old fashioned' and that she considers Scottish English to be an ancient language (she also thinks Classical Arabic is very 'outdated'), which is consistent with the fact that she has shown at least as much, and sometimes more, admiration for Scottish English as for any of the

other languages[14].

When one considers how necessary for the respondent and how useful the two languages are perceived to be it is evident that there are major differences of opinion amongst the children and we can divide the families into two distinct groups, in the same way as before. It is helpful to look at which languages the children actually claim to use and how they judge their proficiency in the two languages.

2.2.4.2 A Correlation Between Language Proficiency, Language Use and How Useful a Language is Perceived to be.

Figure 14 shows how well the four families (second generation only) claim to speak and understand the two varieties of English. These results for families 'A' and 'B' and familes 'C' and 'D', (the four families divide into two distinct groups), bear direct comparison with responses to the questions on which languages are 'necessary' and 'useful'. The members of families 'C' and 'D' claim unanimously to have the highest proficiency in speaking and understanding Scottish English, but there is a considerable drop in their (perceived) ability regarding

[14] One notes here, that the terms used in a questionnaire may sometimes be ambiguous, and it is necessary to look at a response in relation to the responses made by the same person to other questions in the questionnaire, so that a more balanced and, one hopes, realistic impression of the person emerges.

Figure 14

"How do you rate your ability in speaking/understanding the following languages?"

(Nine respondents: second generation)

Family	Respondent	Speaking		Understanding	
		Scottish English	Standard English	Scottish English	Standard English
'A'	1	a	a	a	a
	2	b	c	b	b
	3	c	b	b	a
'B'	4		b		a
'C'	5	a	d	a	d
	6	a	e	a	e
	7	a		a	
'D'	8	a	b	a	b
	9	a		a	c

NB Responses are measured on a scale a-e

a = very well, b = well, c = average, d = a little, e = not at all

Standard English. The two families also tend to find Scottish English more 'necessary' to know and more 'useful' than Standard English. (see figure 13). On the other hand the children in family 'A' overall consider their proficiency in Standard English and Scottish English to be almost equal, (respondent 4, in family 'B', only responds to questions on Standard English here): the expression of an increased proficiency in Standard English is coupled here with an increase in how 'necessary' and 'useful' Standard English is perceived to be. It may be concluded that there is a correlation between a respondent's expressed proficiency in a language and to what extent she finds that language 'necessary' and 'useful'. Furthermore, this correlates with how often she uses, or thinks she uses, a language. Figures 15 - 18 show the children's answers with regard to the two varieties of English, to four questions on language choice. Again the four families fall into two distinct groups. Respondent 4 (female) claims that she never uses Scottish English (at least for the situations she was asked to respond to) and respondent 3 (female) only mentions using it on three occasions. The two brothers, (1 and 2), however, claim to use Scottish English much more than the girls. They do mention Standard English, but less frequently; the second boy (2) mentioning it only once when he claims to use it for formal occasions (see figure 18). In the other group (families 'C' and 'D') the female respondents (6, 7 and 9) only claim to use Scottish

Figure 15

"Which language would you choose when talking to the following people?"

(Nine respondents: second generation)

Family	Respondent	To parents		To sisters		To brothers		To Arabic speaking family friends		To Arabic speaking friends at school		To Arabic speaking friends at Arabic school	
		Sc	Std	Sc	Std	Sc	Std	Sc	Std	Sc	Std	Sc	Std
'A'	1	4		2				3		2			
	2	4		3		3		2		4		3	
	3		4		4	4	1		3				
'B'	4		3				2		2				
'C'	5	3		1								1	
	6	3		1		1		3					
	7			2		2							
'D'	8	3	4	3		2		3		1	4		
	9	2				2		3		1			

Responses are measured on a scale 1-5

1 = always, 2 = mostly, 3 = sometimes, 4 = rarely, 5 = never

Abbreviations

Sc = Scottish English
Std = Standard English

Figure 16

"How often would you speak these languages when you are in the following places?"

(Nine respondents: second generation)

Family	Respondent	At home		At Arabic speaking friend's house		Buying things from Arab shop		At Arabic school in class	At Arabic school at break time		At the Mosque	
		Sc	Std	Sc	Std	Sc	Std	Sc	Sc	Std	Sc	Std
'A'	**1**	2		2		2					4	
	2	4		3		4		4	2			
	3	4	3	4	3		4					3
'B'	**4**		3		2							
'C'	**5**						1			1		
	6	3		3								3
	7					2						
'D'	**8**	3		3				2	2		3	
	9	2		4		2		3	2		3	

Responses are measured on a scale 1-5

1 = always, 2 = mostly, 3 = sometimes, 4 = rarely, 5 = never

Abbreviations

Sc. = Scottish English
Std. = Standard English

Figure 17

"How often would you speak these languages when discussing the following topics?"
(Nine respondents: second generation)

Family	Respondent	Education		School		Religion		British society/culture		Moroccan society/culture	
		Sc	Std	Sc	Std	Sc	Std	Sc	Std	Sc	Std
'A'	1 2 3	2 3	2 3	3 3	4 3	3 3	4 4	3 3	4 3	3 4	4 3
'B'	4		1		1		1		2		1
'C'	5 6 7	 3		 3 3		 3		2			
'D'	8 9	3 2		2 1		3 3		3 1		3 1	

Responses are measured on a scale 1-5

1 - always, 2 = mostly, 3 = sometimes. 4 = rarely, 5 = never

Abbreviations

Sc = Scottish English
Std = Standard English

Figure 17 continued

"How often would you speak these languages when discussing the following topics?"
(Nine respondents: second generation)

Family	Respondent	Family in Morocco		Politics		Work/profession		Sport		Personal matters	
		Sc	Std	Sc	Std	Sc	Std	Sc	Std	Sc	Std
'A'	1					3	2	4	2		
	2	4		2		3		4		2	
	3		3		3		3		3		4
'B'	4		3		1		1		2		2
'C'	5							2		2	
	6	3				3		3		2	
	7										
'D'	8	1		2				2		2	
	9							1		1	

Responses are measured on a scale 1-5

1 - always, 2 = mostly, 3 = sometimes. 4 = rarely, 5 = never

Abbreviations

Sc = Scottish English
Std = Standard English

Figure 18

"When you are at home when would you use these languages for the following purposes?"
(Nine respondents: second generation)

Family	Respondent	For telling jokes		For insulting		For greetings		To tell-off		To encourage	
		Sc	Std	Sc	Std	Sc	Std	Sc	Std	Sc	Std
'A'	1	2	3	1		2	2	2	2	2	3
	2	2		4		3		3		3	
	3		2		2		3		3		3
'B'	4		2		2		2		2		2
'C'	5	2								2	
	6	2		3		3		2		2	
	7	2								3	
'D'	8	1		3		2		3		2	
	9	1		1		1		1		1	

Responses are measured on a scale 1-5

1 = always, 2 = mostly, 3 = sometimes. 4 = rarely, 5 = never

Abbreviations

Sc = Scottish English
Std = Standard English

Figure 18 continued

"When you are at home when would you use these languages for the following purposes?"
(Nine respondents: second generation)

Family	Respondent	To be friendly		To be serious		When tired		When angry		For emphasis		For formal occasions	
		Sc	Std	Sc	Std	Sc	Std	Sc	Std	Sc	Std	Sc	Std
'A'	1	3	3		1	2		3		2		3	
	2	3		2		3		2		3		2	2
	3		3		3		2		2		2		2
'B'	4		2		2				3		3		3
'C'	5					2							
	6	2		2		2		2		2		2	
	7			1		1				3			
'D'	8	2		2		3		2		4		4	
	9	1		1		1		1		1		1	

Responses are measured on a scale 1-5

1 - always, 2 = mostly, 3 = sometimes. 4 = rarely, 5 = never

Abbreviations

Sc = Scottish English
Std = Standard English

English, whilst the male respondents (5 and 8) each claim to use Standard English on no more than one occasion.

I have mentioned that families 'A' and 'B' rate their proficiency in Standard English higher than families 'C' and 'D' and also that they find Standard English more necessary. I also noted that families 'A' and 'B', on average claim to use Standard English more than Scottish English and I have shown that familes 'C' and 'D' claim to use mostly Scottish English and almost no Standard English. The evidence strongly suggests that there is a correlation between language use, language proficiency and to what extent a language is perceived to be necessary and useful. The correlation between language use and proficiency is natural because it is usual for a person's proficiency in a language to improve the more he exercises his skill in it. It is also natural that if a person perceives a language to be necessary for him to know he will have occasion to use that language, (otherwise he would have no need for it). The key to understanding why the families fall into two distinct groups may be found by looking at a) the parents' attitudes and b) the children's social environment.

2.2.4.3 The Parents' Attitudes

Figure 19 shows the parents' responses, for Scottish and Standard English, to six attitudinal questions; (how

Figure 19

"How: rich/beautiful/necessary/lively/useful/suited to scientific research/ do you think the following language are?"

(Eight respondents: first generation)

Family	Respondent	Rich		Beautiful		Necessary		Lively		Useful		Suited to Scientific Research	
		Sc	Std	Sc	Std	Sc	Std	Sc	Std	Sc	Std	Sc	Std
'A'	10	d	b	d	b	c	a	c	a	b	a	d	a
	11	c	a	c	a	c	a	c	b		a	c	a
'B'	12			a		a				a	a	a	a
'C'	14	b	a	b	b	b	a	a	c	b	a	b	a
	15		a			a	a			a	a		a
'D'	16	c	b	c	b	b	a	c	a	c	a	c	a
	17	e	?	e	?	?	?	c	?	e	?	?	?

NB. Some of the responses of respondent 17 were unclear and will, therefore, be disregarded.
Responses are measured on a scale a-e
For example, for the question on 'how rich' the languages are thought to be:
a = very rich, be = quite rich, c = average, d = not very rich, e = not at all rich

Abbreviations

Sc. = Scottish English
Std. = Standard English

'difficult' they found these two languages is omitted here since it would be difficult to assess whether responses showed a positive or negative reaction. The question on 'outdated' languages is also omitted since people's responses were inconclusive. These results actually seem a little disappointing in as far as they show no striking difference between the attitudes of the parents in familes 'A' and 'B' and those of the families in 'C' and 'D'. Moreover, the parents are unanimous in finding Standard English 'highly useful' and 'highly scientific' and most of them find Standard English 'richer', 'more beautiful', 'necessary' and 'lively' than Scottish English. It is clear that, overall, the parents are more in favour of Standard English than of Scottish English.

Family 'A'

When I later spoke to the father in family 'A', (respondent 10), my impressions were that his attitude was clearly related to his children's responses. If we look at his responses to these questions it is obvious that he does not have a high opinion of Scottish English. Furthermore, he claims he does not speak Scottish English at all (figure 20) and he does not want to improve his or his children's knowledge of it (figures 21 and 22). Scottish English has bad connotations for him: he says that if you speak it you are identified as an uneducated

Figure 20

"How do you rate your ability in speaking/understanding the following languages?"

(Eight respondents: first generation)

Family	Respondent	Speaking		Understanding	
		Scottish English	Standard English	Scottish English	Standard English
'A'	10	e	c	c	c
	11	c	d	b	b
'B'	12	a			
	13	a			
'C'	14	c		c	
	15	a		a	a
'D'	16	c	d	c	d
	17				c

NB Responses are measured on a scale a-e

a = very well, b = well, c = average, d = a little, e = not at all

Figure 21

"To what extent would you like to improve your knowledge of the following languages?"

(Eight respondents: first generation)

Family	Respondent	Scottish English	Standard English
'A'	10 11	d	a a
'B'	12 13	a a	
'C'	14 15	a	
'D'	16 17	c	a a

NB Responses are measured on a scale a-d

a = I wish it very much, b = I hope it might be possible, c = it does not really matter, d = I don't want it at all

Figure 22

"If you have children do you want them to have a good knowledge of the following languages?"

(Eight respondents: first generation)

Family	Respondent	Scottish English	Standard English
'A'	10 11	d d	a a
'B'	12 13		a a
'C'	14 15	a	
'D'	16 17		

NB Responses are measured on a scale a-d

a = I wish it very much, b = I hope it might be possible, c = it does not really matter, d = I don't want it at all

person and people cannot take you seriously[15]. His eldest daughter (3) seems, more or less, to have the same attitude as her father here - his sons (1 and 2) to a lesser degree. The mother of this family (11) also indicates a marked preference for Standard English in her responses.

Family 'B'

Respondents 12 and 13 seem to have very favourable attitudes towards Scottish English, and yet their daughter (4) is only interested in Standard English; however, when these respondents (12 and 13) were asked if they would like to improve a) their own knowledge of Scottish English and Standard English and b) their children's knowledge of these languages some interesting responses occurred. They themselves were anxious to improve their knowledge of Scottish English, (but they did not comment on Standard English), yet for their children the reverse was true: Standard English was very important for their children to know, (no opinion was given for Scottish English). Given the attitude, prevalent amongst many English speaking people, that Standard English is the most superior type of English, and the negative feelings of some people towards Scottish and other regional varieties, it is likely that these two respondents consider Standard English to be the

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15 As the owner of a hotel and restaurant he likes to use Standard English to his international clientele, (otherwise they may not understand him, he says).

language their children need to know in order to find professional employment: they hope that two of their children will become accountants, (one of their children already has a job as a highly qualified computer engineer). A knowledge of Scottish English, on the other hand, may seem to hinder rather than help their children's progress, particularly since they are hoping to train and work in England. As for their own future employment the parents do not seek professional careers, and Scottish English is in fact the most useful language for their particular environment in which they mainly live and work with Scottish English speaking people, the father being a waiter and his wife running part of her home as a refuge for old ladies and mentally handicapped young men.

Family 'C'

The parents' (14 and 15) responses to the six attitudinal questions dealt with here show that Standard English is favoured over Scottish English, but Scottish English is by no means disliked. The results for language proficiency indicate that neither parent would claim to speak Standard English, although the mother (15) claims to understand it very well (figure 20). Nor would either parent like to improve their knowledge of Standard English. The mother also claims to speak and understand Scottish English very well, whilst the father (14) is less sure of his ability here, claiming only an average knowledge. He also

expressed a desire to know Scottish English better and was very keen that his children should also improve their knowledge of it. Neither parent particularly wanted their children to improve their proficiency in Standard English, (see figure 22). As I have already remarked the three children of this family (5, 6 and 7) overall have a higher regard for Scottish English than Standard English. Scottish English is clearly the variety of English the family claim to use in the home and which they are all most proficient in; it is the language the children prefer for self-expression and it is, in addition, (and perhaps most importantly), not a language that the parents disapprove of, or discourage their children from using.

Family 'D'

Although the responses of the mother of this family (17) are a little unclear it is obvious that both she and her husband strongly prefer Standard English. When I later talked to these two people the father (16) said he preferred Standard English because more people are likely to understand it and the mother again expressed very positive feelings towards it. It is revealing that neither parent wanted their children to improve their knowledge of Scottish English. They themselves were very keen on improving their own knowledge of Standard English and later on the father also expressed a desire that his children should know it better. It seems odd, therefore,

that their children (8 and 9) are so very much in favour of Scottish English. Their daughter (9) especially, does not seem to think very highly of Standard English, (see figure 13). It is obviously not possible to explain the children's response by referring to the attitude of their parents here, unless the children have been led to assume such a stance in conscious rebellion against their parents' values, (which I think unlikely, although I have noticed that there is some conflict of values between the parents and their children). It is possible that the parents have not made known to the children, or have not effectively communicated to them, their attitudes towards Standard English. Since the children's responses are decided so very much in favour of Scottish English over Standard English, there is perhaps some other influence at work here, which may possibly shed light on their responses: this is the children's environment outside the home.

2.2.4.4 The Children's Environment

The children's environment may help to explain their responses. I will deal first with family 'C' who live in a run-down suburb fairly far out of the city centre. The children in this family attend a school in this deprived area of the city and have local friends. My impressions are that they live in a very 'Scottish' environment, with little chance of mixing with people who speak Standard

English, at school or in the neighbourhood, (with the possible exception of their school teachers). It would also seem that they have less academic aspirations than some of their Moroccan counterparts living nearer the city centre and are not aiming for the type of career, or future life-style for which a knowledge of Standard English may be considered important. This is particularly evident with respondent 5 who hopes to become a builder and doesn't think Standard English very necessary at all. As for families 'A' and 'B', they have rather an academic outlook in comparison. Respondent 3 has completed three years of further education while her brother has stayed at school until the age of 18. In family 'B' respondent 4 wants to go to university to study accountancy; both her older brothers have already attended universities. In contrast to family 'C', these two families, or rather the children of these two families, generally have high aspirations and look forward to more professional occupations in the future, (occupations where Standard English is probably considered in a more favourable light than Scottish English). As for family 'D', my observations have made clear to me that they are not such an academic family as are families 'A' and 'B'. The children attend a school fairly near the city centre and, like the children in family 'C', do not have particularly high aspirations. I can only explain the apparent lack of agreement here, between the attitudes of the parents and the children, by my impression that the children do not

share their parents' hopes for their future (that they will enter professions such as medicine, computing and so forth). Furthermore, whilst the parents' aspirations may be linked to a belief that Standard English is considered more statusful and more beneficial for a career than Scottish English, Scottish English would seem to the children to be the more appropriate variety to their environment and perhaps even the more statusful, in the context of school and college friends.

2.2.4.5 The Attitudes of the Parents and the Children to the Relative Merits of Classical Arabic and Moroccan Arabic

I mentioned in the introduction to section 2.2.4 that some of the children seemed to have the same attitudes as their parents with respect to the relative merits of Moroccan Arabic and Classical Arabic. I shall now examine this idea more closely. Figure 23 shows the responses of both parents and children of familes 'A','B','C' and 'D' to seven questions on attitude. Both the children and the parents thought Classical Arabic the 'richer' language and overall they considered Classical Arabic to be more 'beautiful', more 'suited to scientific research' and more 'difficult'. The parents considered Classical Arabic to be more 'lively' and 'useful' than, or at least just as 'lively' and 'useful' as, Moroccan Arabic and for all but

Figure 23

"How rich/beautiful/necessary/lively/useful/suited to scientific research/difficult do you think the following languages are?"
(Seventeen respondents: four families)

Family	Respondent	Rich		Beautiful		Necessary		Lively		Useful		Suited to Scientific Research		Difficult	
		CA	MA	CA	MA	CA	MA	CA	MA	CA	MA	CA	MA	CA	MA
'A'	1	b	c	c	c	c	c	b	a	c	b	b	c	a	b
	2	a	b	c	a	c	a	b	b	b	b	c	d		c
	3	b	c	a	c	b	d	d	b	a	c	c	d	a	c
'B'	4		b		b		b		b		b			a	c
'C'	5					d	a								
	6	a	a	a	a	c	b	b	a	c	b	c	c	b	b
	7	a	b	a	b	b	a	a	b	b	a	a	b	a	b
'D'	8	a	c	b	d	a	a	a	a	a	a	b	c	b	d
	9	a	d	a	b	a	b	c	a	a	c	c	b	a	c
'A'	10	a	c	a	c	a	a	a	b	a	b	a	d	b	b
	11	a	b	a	b	a	a	a	b	a	a	a	b	a	e
'B'	12	a		a		a		a	a	a	a	a		a	
	13	a	b	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
'C'	14	b	c	a	b	b	a	a	b	a	b	a	b	b	c
	15	a		a	a	a	a			a	a	a		d	c
'D'	16	a	b	a	b	a	a	a	b	a	c	a	c	a	a
	17	?	c		e	?		a	a	?	?		e	b	e

NB. Some of the responses of respondent 17 were unclear and will, therefore, be disregarded.

Responses are measured on a scale a-e
For example, for the question on how 'rich' the languages are thought to be
a = very rich, b = quite rich, c = average, d = not very rich, e = not at all rich

Abbreviations
CA = Classical Arabic MA = Moroccan Arabic

two parents Classical Arabic and Moroccan Arabic were equally 'necessary'. The children's responses differed to those of their parents in that on average they considered Moroccan Arabic more 'necessary' and 'lively' than Classical Arabic and slightly more 'useful'. There are one or two interesting remarks that can be made.

Firstly, in family 'B' the parents are highly in favour of Classical Arabic[16]. It is perhaps strange, therefore, that their daughter (4) seems to have no ability in Classical Arabic and no inclination to learn it; nor does she express any attitude towards it. It would seem that the parents, like many people brought up in the Arab world, view Classical Arabic as the 'educated', 'literary' type of Arabic, and they would consequently consider it to be superior to Moroccan Arabic. Their daughter, however, although she may be aware of different attitudes towards, (and even uses for), Classical Arabic and Moroccan Arabic, has not taken these attitudes on as her own. It is interesting to note that she wishes to remain in Britain

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16 The responses of the parents (respondents 12 and 13) must be treated with some caution, however: neither of these two people ever chose less than the highest evaluation for any language and they left many questions blank. (I later helped respondent 13 with her questionnaire and she did vary her evaluation of the languages on that occasion, which I have recorded). It is revealing that they claim to have the highest proficiency in reading and writing Arabic and yet, at the same time, encountered considerable difficulty in both understanding the questionnaire and filling it out. Respondent 13 helped her husband fill out the questionnaire and we must of course allow for the fact that she probably influenced his answers somewhat.

and follow a profession such as accountancy; Classical Arabic would, therefore, have virtually no practical purpose for her, whilst Moroccan Arabic is always useful for communicating with her family. In her responses towards Classical Arabic respondent 4 is an extreme example; however, the explanation for her answers offered above seems to apply to the responses of most of the children: that is those five other children who find Moroccan Arabic more 'necessary' and 'useful' than Classical Arabic.

There were two children who considered Classical Arabic to be the more 'useful' language: respondents 3 and 9, and the brother of the latter, respondent 8, found both languages highly 'useful' and 'necessary'. As for respondents 8 and 9, brother and sister, their perception of Classical Arabic as a 'useful' and 'necessary' language probably does actually stem from the attitude of their parents, (respondents 16 and 17). When talking to their parents I gained the vivid impression that they greatly admired Classical Arabic. Their mother (respondent 17) wanted the children to know Classical Arabic ("because it is the most useful language to know, since", she said, "so many people could understand it")[17]; she also wished they were able to read Arabic books. She was full of praise for Classical Arabic; she found it very rich in vocabulary

[17] This respondent also expressed surprise that Arabic was not taught in school in Britain.

("because all Arab countries use it") and also she found it the most beautiful language ("because it is the purest, *al-fuṣḥā*"). Her husband intimated the same feelings and, in addition, found it particularly necessary to know Classical Arabic because it is used in the Qur'an. Interestingly, he was the only person to mention the religious benefits one gained from knowing Classical Arabic. Of all the parents, respondents 16 and 17 were probably the most expressive of their great admiration for Classical Arabic. The children's response is all the more noteworthy, however, when one considers that their feelings about Scottish and Standard English contradicted the attitude of their parents. One explanation could be that there is strong peer pressure to accept Scottish English in favour of Standard English, (the children also exhibit other *social* attitudes which their parents find alarming). On the other hand, they are more susceptible to their parents' attitudes to Classical Arabic and Moroccan Arabic, since this is not an area directly under the influence of peer pressure.

The reaction of respondent 3 is also interesting. She admired Classical Arabic and found it a 'useful' language and more 'necessary' to know than Moroccan Arabic, whereas her two brothers were less likely to indicate a preference for a standard language in any of their responses. It is difficult to determine any one reason for such a discrepancy in responses, indeed it is difficult to

determine any set of reasons, although there are more likely to be several contributory factors rather than one, single cause. It may be significant that this respondent is the eldest child in her family, (and, therefore, would feel obliged to adhere to her parents' attitudes and thereby set a good example for her siblings), or that she is female rather than male[18]. She is also the only child to have so far completed a course of higher education and may, therefore, see standard or literary languages as a means for achieving her aims. Respondent 3 was, in fact, one of those second generation respondents I mentioned at the beginning of section 2.2.4 who deemed my Arabic to be far better than their own, (because I had studied Classical Arabic at university and they had not): that she is aware of the classical-colloquial diglossia and considers Classical Arabic the superior language of the two (Classical and Moroccan Arabic), was clearly evident in her outlook and in her disparaging references to Moroccan Arabic as 'slang'.

The main difference between the children's and parents' attitudes towards the relative merits of Classical Arabic and Moroccan Arabic remains, however, the extent to which my respondents find these languages 'useful' and

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[18] Interesting work has been carried out on how female speakers try to approximate their speech to a standard variety. (the standard language appearing to be seen by many female speakers as more prestigious than colloquial dialects). See, for example, Trudgill (1974a)

'necessary to know'. Additionally, although most of the children found Classical Arabic 'richer', 'more beautiful' and 'better suited to scientific research', than Moroccan Arabic, they nevertheless evaluated Classical Arabic less highly than their parents.

Chapter Three

Language Choice

3.0 Introduction

In this chapter I will look at people's responses to the first four questions they were asked in the questionnaire, which dealt with language use when communicating a) with different people, b) in different places, c) about different topics and d) for different communicative purposes or mood. I shall examine some of the influences affecting their language choice, including people's attitudes towards different languages and their associations with them. I shall also briefly discuss the idea that the degree of *formality* perceived by the speaker influences his decision about which language he will use in a given situation, comparing the situation of Moroccans in Edinburgh with that of Arabic-French bilinguals in Morocco.

It was noted above that the first generation Moroccans taking part in this study would not generally choose to use English of their own accord but must do so when they are, for example, at work, at their children's schools and even, to some extent, at home; in fact in connection with the last locale for a significant number of first generation Moroccans English is becoming an increasingly

important language in the home, chiefly because their children prefer to use it[19]. However, the majority of the first generation who filled out questionnaires preferred Moroccan Arabic for self-expression to any other language. Their responses to the first four questions dealing with language choice also indicated frequent use of Moroccan Arabic. I shall begin this chapter by looking at some of their responses to the first question, in which they were asked about which languages they would use when speaking to different people.

3.1 An Analysis of People's Responses

The first generation respondents were unanimous in claiming always to speak Moroccan Arabic to their parents, (apart from respondent 14 who did not mention any language in this connection), and all those who answered the question claimed to speak it highly frequently to siblings: English only seems to be used by two people in this connection, that is Scottish English was claimed to be used rarely by respondent 23 to her siblings and was also claimed to be used sometimes by respondent 22 to his brothers. This is the response one would expect since it is unusual for the older generations in Morocco to know

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19 This is based largely upon my own observations and concerns respondents 12,13,18 and 19, (and also another Moroccan family who were not able to take part in the questionnaire). Respondents 12 and 13 are, however, a special case since they have a large number of native English speaking people living with them.

English. In addition French seems to be used only by a few people for communicating with their families, (respondents 22,23 and 24 to their siblings), which lends some support to my previous impressions that respondents are, for the most part, not from highly educated families, (see section 1.1 figure 2 and section 2.2)[20]. It should be noted, however, that some highly educated Moroccans may make a point of not speaking French to each other in protest at the imposition of French culture and language on Moroccan Arab society. Moreover, as Bentahila (1983) observes,

"The tendency to use Arabic more with siblings [rather than French] could be related to the fact that conversations between siblings will often be associated with the home and family, and this could be expected to favour the use of Arabic; that Arabic is typically the language of the home has been observed by many investigators of Moroccan bilingualism" (1983:55-56).

And Bentahila goes on:

"The use of Arabic with elders may in many cases also be imposed by the law of interlocutory constraint. Since people over fifty are unlikely to have much knowledge of French, the bilingual will find it safest to stick to Arabic in talking to them ... The same motivation may lie behind the use of Arabic rather than French to strangers, who again may not know French or may have negative attitudes towards the use of French" (ibid:56).

When we consider the responses concerning communication with respondents' spouses and children we note a drastic increase in the use of Scottish English, (although Moroccan Arabic still seems to be the favoured language of communication). The table below, (figure 24) shows how

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20 This is because most educated Moroccans would know French and it is a widely used language in many institutions in Morocco.

often these respondents claim to use Classical Arabic, Moroccan Arabic, Scottish English, Standard English and French in communication between themselves and different members of their family. (None of the respondents mentioned Spanish in this connection). As figure 24 shows, and as I have already remarked, these first generation respondents claim that they never speak English to their parents and only two people claim to speak it, quite rarely, to their siblings. This greatly contrasts with the use of English by some people when communicating with their spouses or children, (who are all resident *in this country*). It has also been suggested that it is unlikely that the respondents would *be able* to communicate in English with their families in Morocco, whilst with their families in Britain they generally have no difficulty in using English. This latter point concerning the practical possibility of using English is certainly connected with the respondents' different use of language with their families in Morocco and those in Britain, but does not explain why respondents sometimes speak English rather than Arabic to their husbands or wives, and children; clearly their ability to communicate in English is not their only motivation for actually using English. To understand the reason for - or rather some of the contributory factors to - this behaviour one must return to, and explain what is meant by, the idea expressed at the beginning of this chapter, that respondents are often 'pressurised', in some way, to use English.

Figure 24

"Which language would you choose when talking to the following people?"
(Thirteen respondents: First generation)

Respondent	To parents	To brothers					To sisters				To husband/wife				To children			
	MA	CA	MA	Sc	Std	Fr	CA	MA	Std	Fr	CA	MA	Sc	Fr	MA	Sc	Std	Fr
10	1		1					1			2	1			1		3	
11	1		1					1				2			3			
13	1		1					1				1	3		2	2		
14												1			1			
15	1		1					1				1			1			
16	1		1					1				1	3		1	2		
17	1		1				4	1			3	1	3		1	4		
18	1		1					1				2	3		3	3		
19	1		1					1				1			3	2		
20	1		1					1				1			1			
21	1		1					1				1			1			
22	1		2	3		2		2		3		1		3	2			1
23	1	2	1		4	3	2	1	4	3	4	1	4	3	1			4

Responses are measured on a scale 1-5
1 = always, 2 = mostly, 3 = sometimes, 4 = rarely, 5 = never

Abbreviations

CA = Classical Arabic, MA = Moroccan Arabic, Sc = Scottish English,
Std = Standard English, Fr = French

NB Respondent 12 did not answer this question

3.1.1 Influences on Language Choice

Language choice and the factors which influence it have been the object of the investigation of many researchers. Saville-Troike (1982) identifies some of these factors:

> "*Topic* is often a primary determinant of language choice in multilingual contexts; bilinguals have often learned about some topics through the medium of one language and other topics through the medium of the second, and thus may only know the vocabulary to discuss a topic in one of their languages, or feel it more 'natural' to use one language for a particular topic ... In addition to topic, appropriate language choice may depend on *setting* (including locale and time of day) and *participants* (including their age, sex and social status)" (1982:53-54).

Bentahila (1983) also writes that language choice "may be influenced by such aspects of the interlocutor as his age, sex or proficiency in a language, or the type of relationship existing between him and the speaker" (1983:51); that social values are associated with a particular language, "the obvious example of this is a diglossic situation; where the use of each variety is closely related to the set of values attributed to it, the high variety being associated with formality and prestige and the low variety with the converse" (ibid:51), and, finally, that language choice will be affected by the way in which the speaker "perceives a particular social situation and the purpose he wishes to achieve in this situation" (ibid).

3.1.1.1 The Indirect Influence of Environment on Language Choice

A major contributory factor of language choice is the respondent's environment which has, what one might call, an *indirect* influence on him. Even if he does not actively participate in a linguistic way in what goes on around him, whether it be in the work place, in the shops or when he is walking down the street the respondent feels (consciously or not), the constant pressure of being in an English speaking country. Even within his own home he experiences again a similar English language environment reproduced in the transitory world of television. It could be, what I have called the *indirect* influence of his environment which causes him, at times, to choose English rather than Arabic when he wishes to communicate something to his family (that is, his spouse and/or his children), such as some event which has taken place, what somebody said or some aspect of the society in which he participates. It is natural that he will talk to his family in Britain in a different manner to how he communicates with his family in Morocco because his environment influences him in what he chooses to talk about; since he has only learnt of or heard discussed certain concepts in this environment through the medium of English it seems also natural that he too would choose to discuss them in English (as Saville-Troike, above points out).

This is one example of how the respondent's environment *indirectly* affects his language. It is an interesting

phenomenon and anticipates somewhat the subject of the next chapter. However, there are also some responses to the questionnaire which are relevant to this. The respondents were asked how often they would speak a language when discussing certain topics. Figure 25 shows the reactions of the first generation respondents.

Only one person (respondent 16) claimed to use some Scottish English to discuss 'religion' and the same person was the only one who claimed to use Scottish English for discussing 'Moroccan society and culture', whereas respondent 23 claimed to use Scottish English, rarely, to talk about 'family in Morocco'. Apart from these two people, the other respondents who answered the questions said they only used some form of Arabic when talking about these subjects, Moroccan Arabic being by far the most usual form. (Respondent 22 does not claim to discuss 'religion' at all in any language). Conversely, people in general thought they used slightly more English (mainly Scottish English) than Arabic to discuss 'British society and culture', 'work/profession' and 'sport'; although many people also claimed to use Moroccan Arabic.

The three topics, 'religion', 'Moroccan society and culture', and 'family in Morocco' could be described as relating to an *Arabic language* environment; this means that the respondent has learnt about and is *used to* talking about these three topics in Arabic and he does not

Figure 25

"How often would you speak these languages when discussing the following topics?"
(Thirteen respondents: first generation)

Respondent	Religion				Moroccan society/culture				Family in Morocco			British society/culture				Work/profession							Sport					
	CA	MA	AA	Sc	CA	MA	AA	Sc	CA	MA	Sc	CA	MA	Sc	Std	CA	MA	AA	Sc	Std	Fr	Sp	CA	MA	Sc	Std	Fr	Sp
10	1					1				1		1			1				1					1				
11		1								1				2			2		2									
13	1	2				1				1			2	2			2		2						1			
14		1				1				1				2					1						1			
15		1				1				1														1				
16	2	3		3	3	2	3	3		2			2	3				3	2			3		2	2			3
17	1	4	4			1				1				1					1						1			
18	.	1				1				1			.	1					1						1	.		
19	.	1				1				1			.	3					3					2	3	.		4
20		1				1											1											
21		1				1				1				1					1									
22						2				1							2				2						1	
23	1	3			2	2			3	1	4	3	2	3		2	2						2	2	4		4	

Responses were measured on a scale 1-5
1 = always, 2 = mostly, 3 = sometimes, 4 = rarely, 5 = never

Abbreviations

CA = Classical Arabic, MA = Moroccan Arabic, AA = another type of Arabic
Sc = Scottish English, Std = Standard English, Fr = French, Sp = Spanish

NB Respondent 12 did not answer this question

generally hear these things discussed in other languages such as English. This could be one explanation why the respondent claimed to use mostly Arabic for discussing these three topics. The other three topics, 'British society and culture', 'work/profession' and 'sport' could be described as topics more associated with a *non-Arabic (mostly English) language* environment for similar reasons, and this could explain the bias towards English in the responses to these three topics. There is, however, a further complication which involves *who* the respondents talk to when discussing these topics; perhaps they use more English for the last three topics because they discuss them with mainly non-Arabic speaking people. This introduces the concept of what one might call the *direct* influence of the respondent's environment on his language choice.

3.1.1.2 The Direct Influence of Environment on Language Choice

It has been explained how the respondent's environment could, theoretically, indirectly influence his choice of language when he wishes to express certain ideas; that is, he may prefer to use the language in which he is most used to hearing these ideas discussed, or discussing them himself. The respondent may also be *directly* pressurised

by his environment to use a particular language; for instance there would be little sense in speaking Arabic to a person who *does not know* Arabic, in this case the respondent would have to use some other language to communicate with him. At other times his interlocutor may know Arabic but will prefer to communicate in a different language (for example, English), encouraging him also to use that language. This explains why many people thought they spoke English, (mainly Scottish English) to their children more than to any other member of their family whom they were asked about, since the children, generally, being more used to and more proficient in English are quite likely to wish to use it more than Moroccan Arabic; and one can therefore expect that in the home or in gatherings of Moroccan Arabic speaking people it will be the children who are most likely to *directly* encourage the use of English.

This may help to make clear why respondents 13,16 and 19 (one sister and two brothers respectively) and respondents 17 and 18 (two sisters) did not report speaking English to their siblings (that is, to each other), and yet respondents 16,17 and 18 reported speaking Scottish English to their spouses, (respondents 17,16 and 19 respectively). Perhaps the reason for this lies in the fact that the children, (who, as I have noted, seem to be a main factor influencing the first generation's language choice), are more likely to participate in conversations

between their parents than in conversations involving a parent and a parent's sibling.

The *direct* influence of environment on language choice implies that it is the interlocutor who *immediately* stimulates the respondent's use of one language or another rather than the respondent himself associating one language with a particular 'verbal communication'.

Herman (1968) has described, in different terms, the influence of environment on language choice. He portrays the bilingual speaker as being in an 'overlapping situation', that is, he is

> "in the common part of two psychological situations that exist simultaneously for him ... one situation may correspond to the person's own need or desire to speak a particular language (eg. the language in which he is most proficient); and the other may correspond to the norms of his group, which may demand of him the use of another language (eg. the national tongue, which he may speak with difficulty). There may be a conflict between personal needs and group demands ... In the determination of which language he will use the forces operating may arise not only from the immediate face-to-face situation but also from the situation at large". (1968:493)

3.1.1.3 Attitudes, Associations and Language Choice

As part of the background or *indirect* environment the respondent's associations with, and attitudes to, language have an important role to play, being some of the factors which help to determine his choice of language. Thus an extremely positive attitude towards Arabic on the part of the respondent may well compel him to try to use Arabic

rather than English as far as he is able. Language loyalty, for instance, may be part of this positive attitude and, as I mentioned earlier (see section 2.2), it is likely that some of my respondents do express loyalty towards Arabic in some of their responses to the attitudinal questions. Furthermore, in practice, many of the first generation respondents seem compelled by their loyalty to their native language to impart a knowledge of Moroccan Arabic to their children as part of their cultural heritage, by choosing Moroccan Arabic rather than, for example, Scottish English when communicating with them[21]. Some people also try to use Arabic with their children because they feel that Arabic is a 'necessary' language for their children to know (section 2.2.4.5). People remarked that Moroccan Arabic was 'necessary' for their children so that they could communicate with their family in Morocco; additionally a knowledge of any second language was considered always useful.

Conversely, negative attitudes to Arabic may discourage people from using it; in fact, people may even try to avoid it altogether. However, such attitudes and so extreme a reaction to the use of Arabic are by no means apparent amongst my respondents; as I noted Classical Arabic was viewed very positively, especially by the first

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[21] My respondents have explicity said that they do feel loyalty to Arabic and therefore would like their children to know Arabic.

generation Moroccans (section 2.2.2), and Moroccan Arabic was generally not viewed unfavourably[22], and, overall, was considered the *most* 'necessary' language for the respondents to know (section 2.2.4.5).

Positive feelings towards Moroccan Arabic are partly reflected in people's reactions to the questions on language choice since the respondents still seem to prefer using Moroccan Arabic in many situations. However, it should also be noted that these respondents' use of Moroccan Arabic is largely dictated by their greater proficiency in it and the corresponding ease they feel when using Moroccan Arabic rather than any other language.

Certain attitudes to a language usually come about as a result of certain associations with that language (although the converse could also be true and it would sometimes be hard to say whether attitudes or associations come first). Thus one could say that when people find Moroccan Arabic 'necessary' for their children to know perhaps they associate the use of Moroccan Arabic with *being* part of their family in Morocco and part of Moroccan culture, if not society: they like to think that in the future not all links will be lost with the 'home country'. It may also be the case that people view Classical Arabic as a language appropriate to scientific research because

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22 With the exception of respondent 17 who did not think Moroccan Arabic at all 'beautiful' or 'suitable for scientific research'.

they associate it with standard languages such as French, which in turn is associated (in Morocco) with scientific education (section 2.2).

Languages can also be associated with certain settings, people or topics and it has been shown above (section 3.1.1.1), one way in which the last of these can be related to language. It was also noted (figure 24 section 3.1) which languages my first generation respondents claimed to speak to certain people, although it is difficult from the findings of the questionnaire alone, to decide whether my respondents make association between certain languages and certain types of people other than that association forced upon them through the necessity of communicating in one particular language with a monolingual person. In this respect the present study diverges from the study carried out by Bentahila, who conducted his research within a society where two or more languages have distinct roles to play, as he writes:

"These findings suggest that the languages each have their own roles to fulfil in the bilingual's speech behaviour, so that they can be said to stand in a diglossic relationship, in the sense in which Fishman (1971) uses this term. These contrasting roles can be seen to correlate in some ways with the differing attitudes the bilinguals have towards the languages. The association of French with education, sophistication and prestige, and that of Moroccan Arabic with the intimacy of home and the practicalities of everyday life ... are reflected in the tendency to use French as a marker of formality and Moroccan Arabic as a marker of informality" (1983:91-92)[23].

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[23] The concept of 'formality' is examined in more detail in section 3.1.5.

The language choice of Bentahila's respondents, in part ultimately rested on the fact that in Moroccan society French and Arabic are associated, as a matter of course, with specific roles and 'stand in a diglossic relationship' to each other. Thus Bentahila's results showed, for example, that French was more likely to be used with a doctor and Arabic was more likely to be used with siblings (1983:55-56). Similarly, some languages were associated with some settings more than others, for instance, French was associated with the chemist's and Arabic with the grocer's (ibid:59-60). In contrast the society in which my respondents find themselves is largely monolingual; in most settings and with most people they are bound to use only one language - English. In settings such as 'home', 'Arabic speaking friend's house' and 'Arab shop', which are included in the questions on language choice, the respondents do have a choice of language. In these settings all the first generation respondents claimed to use some form of Arabic at least some of the time; people were also asked about which language they would speak at the mosque. Figure 26 shows their responses.

Even in these four settings, where one could say the respondent's *environment* favours the use of Arabic[24] some of the respondents claim to use some form of English,

[24] This is because in these situations most of the people the respondent communicates with are likely to be first generation Arab immigrants like himself.

Figure 26

"How often would you speak these languages when you are in the following places?"
(Thirteen respondents: first generation)

Respondent	At home					At Arabic speaking friend's house						Buying things from Arab shop					At the Mosque			
	CA	MA	Sc	Std	Fr	CA	MA	AA	Sc	Std	Sp	CA	MA	AA	Sc	Fr	CA	MA	AA	Sc
10	1	3		3		1	2	4				1	2				1			
11		1						1					2	2				2	2	
13		3	1				1						1					1		
14		1					2						2							3
15		1					1						1					1		
16		2	2			3	3	3	3		3	2	3	3	3		2	3	3	3
17		1	4				4	1					1	1				1	1	
18		3	3			1							1					1		
19		1	3			1							4				1			
20		1					3		3					1					1	
21		1					1					1					1			
22		1		3	3	1						1				3				
23		1	3		3	2				3		2			3		4			2

Responses were measured on a scale 1-5
1 = always, 2 = mostly, 3 = sometimes, 4 = rarely, 5 = never

Abbreviations

CA = Classical Arabic, MA = Moroccan Arabic, AA = another type of Arabic
Sc = Scottish English, Std = Standard English, Fr = French, Sp = Spanish

NB Respondent 12 did not answer this question

French or Spanish as well as a variety of Arabic. It is noted that the highest proportion of English is used at home; it is suggested that the reason for this is that my respondents are more likely to talk to the second generation (that is, their children), in the home than in the other settings and the second generation, rather than the first generation, are more likely to promote the use of English, as was noted before (section 3.1.1.2). Respondents 20 and 21 claim only to use Moroccan Arabic in the home; the main reason for this is probably that they have no children of school-age who can introduce English into the home in such a way as to *directly* influence these respondents' language choice. Respondents 14 and 15 also claim only to use Moroccan Arabic in the home, although they have three children between the ages of 12 and 16. A possible explanation is that these respondents always speak Moroccan Arabic in the home, yet the children tend to answer in English. Like most of the first generation respondents they seem to have very positive attitudes to Arabic and in their responses to the questionnaire both parents very much wanted their children to have a good knowledge of Moroccan Arabic. One imagines from the results of the questionnaire that all the first generation respondents have the attitude that it is important to use Moroccan Arabic at home with the family[25] and for this

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[25] This was shown clearly in the reactions of those people who responded to the question about whether they would like their children to have a good knowledge of Moroccan Arabic (see figure section 7.1).

reason many probably make a conscious effort to do so. It is likely that respondent 11 also has to make an effort to use Moroccan Arabic in the home since she claims always to speak it at home and yet has five children between the ages of 4 and 21 of whom at least three are more proficient in English than in Moroccan Arabic.

Bentahila makes the following comment on the relationship between language uses and attitudes that he observed amongst his bilingual respondents:

"That the respondents are divided fairly equally in their views as to which language is most necessary and which they like most and least is in fact what we might expect in a bilingual situation. If there were a common consensus that any one language was not as necessary as the othrs, or if one were markedly less popular than the other, one would expect this one to be less used, so that the bilingual situation would not remain stable. The fact that instead each language seems to be valued for its own sake is also reflected in the second test, where a majority of the respondents described each of the three languages as necessary, and similar percentages described each as versatile" (1983:34-35).

It is interesting to compare Bentahila's results with how 'necessary' my respondents found Classical Arabic, Moroccan Arabic, Scottish English, Standard English, French and Spanish. Figure 27 and 28 show their responses. First of all, Standard English and Scottish English can be dealt with together here being two forms of one language: English. One can, therefore, say that Classical Arabic, Moroccan Arabic and English were judged by the first generation, overall, to be the most 'necessary' of the languages they were asked about, and this result can be compared to the responses of

Figure 27

"How necessary do you think the following languages are?"

(Nine respondents: first generation)

Respondent	Classical Arabic	Moroccan Arabic	Scottish English	Standard English	French	Spanish
1	c	c	c	b	c	c
2	c	a	c	b	b	d
3	b	d	d	b	c	c
4		b		a		
5	d	a	b	e	b	c
6	c	b	a	a	b	c
7	b	a	a	b	a	e
8	a	a	a	b	a	c
9	a	b	c	d		e

Responses were measured on a scale a-e
a = very necessary, b = quite necessary, c = average, d = not very necessary, e = not at all necessary

Figure 28

"How necessary do you think the following languages are?"

(Fourteen respondents: first generation)

Respondent	Classical Arabic	Moroccan Arabic	Scottish English	Standard English	French	Spanish
10		a	c	a	a	a
11	a	a	c	a	c	d
12	a		a		a	
13	a	a	a	a	a	a
14	b	a	b	a	a	b
15	a	a	a	a	a	
16	a	a	b	a	b	b
18	a	a	a	c	c	c
19	a	a	a	a	c	a
20	b	a	b	c	d	d
21	c	a	a	a	c	d
22		a		a	a	
23	a	a	c	b	b	e
24	a	a	b	a	b	c

Responses were measured on a scale a-e
a = very necessary, b = quite necessary, c = average, d = not very necessary, e = not at all necessary

NB. The reaction of respondent 17 was too unclear to be recorded here

Bentahila's Arabic-French bilinguals who generally found Classical Arabic, Moroccan Arabic and *French* almost equally 'necessary'[26]. As might be expected for my respondents English seems to have taken the place of French (or possibly Spanish). French is still considered fairly 'necessary' by some people, perhaps they use it when they go to Morocco for their holidays or think they will need it when/if they return to Morocco for good, but it is unlikely that they often have need to use French in Britain. (The same can be said regarding the attitude of some people towards Spanish). As for the children, they seem to find Moroccan Arabic slightly more 'necessary' than any of the other languages, but the five languages, Classical Arabic, Moroccan Arabic, Scottish English, Standard English and French are, in reality, judged to be almost equally 'necessary'; Spanish was not thought to be particularly 'necessary' and this is interesting: it is

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[26] The method of questioning the respondents here, differed from Bentahila's method in that his respondents were asked which language they found *most* 'necessary' for a Moroccan, rather than *how* 'necessary' they found each of the languages listed. However, it is still posssible to compare the reactions of my respondents with those of Bentahila's respondents since the same conclusion can be drawn from both sets of results, namely that there is a general feeling that three languages (Classical Arabic, Moroccan Arabic and French, *or* Classical Arabic, Moroccan Arabic and English) are equally 'necessary'. Although my questionnaire did not include questions on the 'least liked' and 'most liked' language, some idea of the relative 'popularity' of these languages might be taken from the results of the attitudinal questions which indicated that Classical Arabic was thought to be the most 'beautiful' and 'richest' of the languages, followed by Standard English. Moroccan Arabic was quite definitely viewed as inferior in these respects (see Figures 5 and 6 Section 2.2.2).

likely that they have this attitude because Spanish, unlike French, is not the first foreign language which is taught in school. The children's responses may be influenced also by their ambitions for the future (that is, which languages they think they are likely to need), rather than simply reflecting their pattern of language use.

It is interesting that Bentahila's results accord with the reactions of my first generation respondents and a further comparison between the two studies is useful in this connection. Bentahila implies that by looking at how 'necessary' and 'popular' his Arabic-French bilinguals judge the three languages to .be (Classical Arabic, Moroccan Arabic and French), one can discover, to some extent, how relatively often the languages are used, "If there were a common consensus that any one language was not as necessary as the others, or if one were markedly less popular than the others, one would expect this one to be less used ..." (1983:35). He showed that people used mainly Classical Arabic or Moroccan Arabic with various interlocutors such as beggers, maids, elders, strangers and policemen, in various setttings such as hotels, restaurants and grocers' and for some topics such as religious topics (Classical Arabic and Moroccan Arabic), or domestic, sports and personal topics (Moroccan Arabic). French was used more with friends, doctors and employers and for more scientific, industrial, sociological and

cultural topics (ibid:55-62). One must also remember that the three varieties have specific roles to play in different Moroccan institutions, such as schools (Classical Arabic and French are used at different levels and for different subjects), and television (Classical Arabic, Moroccan Arabic and French are used for a variety of programmes). Thus the bilingual situation of his respondents in Morocco seems fairly stable since each language (Arabic and French) has its own role to play.

It has already been shown in a number of ways how the situation of my respondents in Britain differs from that of Bentahila's Arabic-French bilinguals in Morocco, how such factors as education and language loyalty affect the respondents' attitudes to and associations with the language under discussion and, ultimately, their language choice; and finally, in the previous section I have tried to show the more pervasive effects of the respondents' society or *environment*. In addition it is emphasised once more that the three languages which the first generation respondents found 'necessary', Classical Arabic, Moroccan Arabic and English, do not always have such specific roles to play as Bentahila has shown Classical Arabic, Moroccan Arabic and French to have in Morocco

For my respondents, in this country the role of Arabic is restricted to the home, the mosque and dealing with other Arabic speaking people such as friends and shopkeepers.

Besides the speaking of Arabic some people also claimed to read Arabic newspapers and books or magazines; to watch Arabic videos and to listen to Arabic radio and music. All but respondent 22 (who used French) said they wrote letters to family and friends in Arabic. However, for communicating in most settings and with most people, and for much reading (some people enjoyed reading British newspapers)[27], watching television and listening to the radio mainly English is used. It is not suggested that the respondents have made a mistake in finding Arabic as necessary a language for them as English, rather it is proposed that the first generation respondents form a *close-knit* group within which the use of Arabic predominates. Within this group Moroccan Arabic, Classical Arabic and sometimes other types of Arabic are either useful for the respondent to know (Classical Arabic and other types of Arabic) or are essential for the respondent if he wishes to participate fully in activities with other group members (Moroccan Arabic).

It has been noted above (section 1.1), that the Moroccans in Edinburgh, with whom this study deals, mix with more people from other Arab countries than they would normally do in Morocco; as a consequence Arabic dialects other than Moroccan often have a different, usually greater, role in their lives. Although Classical Arabic is seen as a kind

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[27] The *Sun* newspaper was particularly popular in two of the families.

of koiné for the whole Arab world, ordinary people do not generally have occasion to use it as such. Instead its role is usually limited to *formal* contexts or to the purely religious sphere of life:

"Moroccan Arabic is acquired as the first language, the language of the home, while Classical Arabic is learnt only in a formal educational context. Only Classical Arabic has a written form; thus Classical Arabic is used for literature, newspapers, broadcasting and religious ceremonies, while Moroccan Arabic is the language of everyday conversation ..." (Bentahila (1983:5)).

However, in the context of life in Britain, Classical Arabic seems to have taken on a new significance for some of my respondents (which it would probably not have for Bentahila's respondents living in Morocco), being a language (or, rather, variety) which these people find useful in *informal* situations, when communicating with other Arab friends[28] (See section 3.1.5 above).

3.1.2 Some of the Responses of the Second Generation

So far in this chapter on language choice I have concentrated mainly on the first generation respondents; the second generation (the children), have usually been mentioned in connection with their influence on their parents' language choice. From my own observations the

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28 Many Arabs would probably not recognise this type of Arabic as *Classical* Arabic, yet to what extent they are right to think in this way, and how 'pure' is the Classical Arabic spoken by my respondents in these situations is not the subject of investigation here. Suffice it to say that this is the variety that people *think* they use in these situations (and towards which they hold views consistent with 'traditional' attitudes towards Classical Arabic: see Chapter Two).

children do not participate in the wider circle of Arabic speaking friends to the same extent as their parents, which may explain why only respondent 6 seemed to think it necessary (to an average degree) for her to know another type of Arabic, apart from Classical Arabic and Moroccan Arabic. It was noted earlier (section 3.1.1.2), that the children are most proficient in English (except for those children below school-age), and are likely to prefer to use it rather than Moroccan Arabic. Although it has been shown, what views the children held about the two varieties of Scottish and Standard English (figure 13 section 2.2.4.1), and what their attitudes were to the two varieties of Arabic, Classical Arabic and Moroccan Arabic (figure 23 section 2.2.4.5) yet their attitudes to the two languages *Arabic* and *English* have not yet been compared.

For the following analysis the reader is referred to figure 13 and figure 23, which show the children's attitudes to Scottish English, Standard English, Classical Arabic and Moroccan Arabic. What most concerns us in this section is how 'useful', 'necessary' and perhaps how 'lively' the children find the languages Arabic and English, but it is interesting also to include a description of their attitudes in three other aspects, namely the richness, beauty and scientific qualities of the languages, all of which help to identify positive and negative feelings on the part of the children. Of the varieties of English, Standard English was perceived to be

'richer', more 'beautiful' and more 'suited to scientific research' by *most* of the second generation and Classical Arabic was judged in a similar way when compared with attitudes to Moroccan Arabic. The results for Classical Arabic and Standard English may, therefore, be compared as may be the results for Moroccan Arabic and Scottish English (see figures 29 and 30).

Classical Arabic was, for the most part, judged to be 'richer' than Standard English, but both languages were perceived to be about as 'beautiful' as each other. Overall, Standard English was thought to be more 'suited to scientific research', however, respondent 9 clearly favoured Classical Arabic here. As for the other two varieties of English and Arabic, Moroccan Arabic was generally considered both 'richer' and more 'beautiful' than Scottish English, yet Scottish English was thought to be slightly better 'suited to scientific research' on the whole. The data do not suggest any consistently positive or negative attitudes amongst the children to either Arabic or English, in fact most of the results show only very slight differences in their attitudes to each language.

It has already been shown (section 2.2.4.1) that respondents 1,2,3 and 4 considered Standard English more 'necessary' and 'useful' than Scottish English, whereas respondents 5,6,7,8 and 9 hold the opposite view, and it

Figure 29

"How rich/beautiful/suited to scientific research do you think the following languages are?"
(Eight respondents: second generation)

Respondent	Rich		Beautiful		Suited to scientific research	
	CA	Std	CA	Std	CA	Std
1	b	b	c	b	b	a
2	a	a	c	b	c	c
3	b	c	a	c	c	b
4		a		a		a
6	a	b	a	b	c	b
7	a	a	a	b	a	a
8	a	a	b	b	b	b
9	a		a		c	e

Responses are measured on a scale a-e

For example, for the question on how 'rich' the languages are thought to be:
a = very rich, b = quite rich, c = average, d = not very rich, e = not at all rich

Abbreviations

CA = Classical Arabic Std = Standard English

NB Respondent 5 did not answer this question

Figure 30

"How rich/beautiful/suited to scientific research do you think the following languages are?"
(Eight respondents: second generation)

Respondent	Rich		Beautiful		Suited to scientific research	
	MA	Sc	MA	Sc	MA	Sc
1	c	d	c	d	c	d
2	b	c	a	c	d	d
3	c	d	c	e	d	e
4	b		b			
6	a	a	a	b	c	b
7	b		b	c	b	b
8	c	b	d	c	c	b
9	d	c	b	c	b	a

Responses are measured on a scale a-e

For example, for the question on how 'rich' the languages are thought to be:
a = very rich, b = quite rich, c = average, d = not very rich, e = not at all rich

Abbreviations

MA = Classical Arabic Sc = Standard English

NB Respondent 5 did not answer this question

has also been noted (section 2.2.4.5) that most of the second generation, but not all, thought Moroccan Arabic more 'necessary', 'lively' and slightly more 'useful' than Classical Arabic. Because all members of the second generation[29] found Moroccan Arabic more 'lively' than Classical Arabic and Scottish English more 'lively' than Standard English, one may compare Moroccan Arabic and Scottish English on the one hand and Classical Arabic and Standard English on the other. However, in order to see how 'necessary' and 'useful' the second generation thought Arabic and English to be all four varieties must be compared at the same time, because the children have different views concerning them. Figures 31,32 and 33 show the results.

Moroccan Arabic is clearly considered more 'lively' than Scottish English and Classical Arabic was judged to be slightly more 'lively' than Standard English; hence Arabic is found to be more 'lively' than English, yet the differences between the two languages are quite small. As far as how 'necessary' and 'useful' the languages are perceived to be the results indicate no pattern in favour of any variety; nor, therefore, of the two languages Arabic and English. It is suggested then, from the evidence of the data, that the second generation either

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[29] Except for respondent 4, whose results shall be disregarded here, since she judged Arabic (Moroccan Arabic) and English (Standard English) to be equally 'lively'.

Figure 31

"How lively do you think the following languages are?"

(Eight respondents: second generation)

Respondent	Classical Arabic	Standard English
1	b	c
2	b	b
3	d	d
4		b
6	b	a
7	a	c
8	a	b
9	c	

Responses are measured on a scale a-e

a = very lively, b = quite lively, c = average, d = not very lively, e = not at all lively

NB Respondent 5 did not answer this question

Figure 32

"How lively do you think the following languages are?"

(Eight respondents: second generation)

Respondent	Moroccan Arabic	Scottish English
1	a	b
2	b	b
3	b	c
4	b	
6	a	a
7	b	b
8	a	a
9	a	b

Responses are measured on a scale a-e

a = very lively, b = quite lively, c = average, d = not very lively, e = not at all lively

NB Respondent 5 did not answer this question

Figure 33

"How necessary/useful do you think the following languagesare?"

(Nine respondents: second generation)

Respondent	Necessary				Useful			
	CA	MA	Sc	Std	CA	MA	Sc	Std
1	c	c	c	b	c	b	d	b
2	c	a	c	b	b	b	d	b
3	b	d	d	b	a	c	d	b
4		b		a		b		a
5	d	a	b	e				
6	c	b	a	a	c	b	a	a
7	b	a	a	b	b	a	a	
8	a	a	a	b	a	a	a	a
9	a	b	c	d	a	c	b	

Responses are measured on a scale a-e

For example, for the question on how 'necessary' the languages are thought to be:
a = very necessary, b = quite necessary, c = average, d = not very necessary, e = not at all necessary

Abbreviations

CA = Classical Arabic, MA = Moroccan Arabic, Sc = Scottish English, Std = Standard English

use Arabic and English more or less equally (that is where the choice of either language is possible), or they restrict the use of each language to particular domains[30].

Figures 34 and 35 show how the second generation respondents answered some of the questions on language choice. The first (figure 34) deals with the languages they would use to communicate with various people; the second (figure 35), with language choice in various 'settings'. All members of the second generation claimed they would use mostly Moroccan Arabic when communicating with their parents; all but one person (respondent 7) also used English with their parents, but to varying degrees. Somewhat in accordance with this result is the children's overall claim to use mostly Moroccan Arabic at home. It seems interesting that respondents 5 and 6, brother and sister, do not think they use any English at home. When one looks at how they speak, or claim to speak with their brothers and sisters (respondent 5 claiming to use Scottish English all the time to his sisters, and respondent 6 claiming to use Scottish English all the time to her brother and sister), and indeed when one remembers that respondent 5 also claims to use Scottish English with his parents, one notes some discrepancy in their

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30 This was a term used by Fishman (1971), who defined it as a "cluster of social situations typically constrained by a common set of behavioural rules" (1971:55). Domains are recognised by particular types of 'setting', participant and topic.

Figure 34

"Which language would you choose when talking to the following people?"
(Nine respondents: Second generation)

Respondent	To parents				To sisters			To brothers			To Arabic speaking family friends				To Arabic speaking friends at school					To Arabic speaking friends at Arabic school		
	CA	MA	Sc	Std	MA	Sc	Std	MA	Sc	Std	CA	MA	Sc	Std	CA	MA	Sc	Std	Fr	CA	MA	Sc
1	4	2	4		2	2						2	3			2	2					
2		1	4		2	3		2	3			3	2			2	4				2	3
3		2		4	2		4	3	4	1		2		3								
4		2		3				3		2		3		2								
5		2	3			1						2										1
6		2	3			1			1			2	3									
7		2				2			2			2										
8	4	2	3	4	2	3		4	2		4	3	3		4		1	4	4	1	1	
9	4	2	2					3	2		3	2	3				1		4	1	3	

Responses are measured on a scale 1-5
1 = always, 2 = mostly, 3 = sometimes, 4 = rarely, 5 = never

Abbreviations

CA = Classical Arabic, MA = Moroccan Arabic, Sc = Scottish English,
Std = Standard English, Fr = French

Figure 35

"How often would you speak these languages when you are in the following places?"

(Nine respondents: second generation)

Respondent	At home				At Arabic speaking friend's house				Buying things from Arab shop					At Arabic school in class			At Arabic school at break time			At the Mosque			
	CA	MA	Sc	Std	CA	MA	Sc	Std	CA	MA	AA	Sc	Std	CA	MA	Sc	MA	Sc	Std	CA	MA	Sc	Std
1		2	2		3	2	2		3	2		2								2	2	4	
2		1	4			2	3			1		4			2	4	4	2					
3		2	4	3		2	4	3		2			4								3		3
4		2		3				2															
5		2				2							1		2			1			1		
6		2	3			2	3			3											2	3	
7		1				3						2									1		
8	4	2	3		3	2	3		2	3	4			4	3	2	3	2		2	2	3	
9		2	2		4	1	4		3	2		2		1	2	3	3	2		1	2	3	

Responses were measured on a scale 1-5

1 = always, 2 = mostly, 3 = sometimes, 4 = rarely, 5 = never

Abbreviations

CA = Classical Arabic, MA = Moroccan Arabic, AA = another type of Arabic
Sc = Scottish English, Std = Standard English

responses.

My impressions are that the reason for these inconsistencies lies in the children's attitudes (respondents 5,6 and 7), or rather their awareness of their *parents'* attitudes (respondents 14 and 15), towards the use of Arabic in the home. Of all the parents, respondents 14,15,11,20 and 21 claim to speak only Moroccan Arabic at home, and the same respondents claim only to speak Moroccan Arabic to their children. Respondents 20 and 21, as I have mentioned above (section 3.1.1.3), have no school-age children, which helps to explain why English is not normally spoken in their home (because their children know very little English). As for respondent 11, if she wishes that her family use only Moroccan Arabic in the home then her efforts to achieve this are somewhat undermined by her husband who claims to use Standard English sometimes at home and to his children. On the other hand, respondents 14 and 15 both seem to make an effort, and think it very important, to speak only Moroccan Arabic in the home and to their children (section 3.1.1.3). In their responses the children may be attempting to portray their language choice as their parents would like it to be rather than as it really is. An incident in support of this suggestion took place as I left their house having picked up the completed questionnaires. The eldest daughter (respondent 7) intimated that she had not quite known what language

she would choose for 'insulting'; but then, she added, she wrote down Arabic "to get into her parents' good books!"

Outside the locale 'home', all the children but one said they would use Moroccan Arabic at an Arabic speaking friend's house, and all spoke Moroccan Arabic, some of the time, to family friends. Moroccan Arabic also seems to be used at the mosque (by seven children), and when buying things from an Arab shop (by six children). Three of the children claimed to use Classical Arabic at times, this was mostly at the mosque and the Arab shop (by respondents 1,8 and 9), but also with parents, family friends and friends at Arabic school, during class (respondents 8 and 9). These three respondents (1,8 and 9) attended the Arabic school a few days a week where they were taught some Classical Arabic. It is interesting to note that they, like some of the first generation, seem to find it useful for a variety of situations. However, the children may well only use Classical Arabic due to the *formality* of the setting or the *formal* relationship with their interlocutor: that is at the mosque or a shop, in class or with older people such as parents and family friends, whereas the first generation seem to use it in an informal way too (see section 3.1.1.3).

The children, therefore, do seem to use Arabic to a considerable extent; overall English is only used more than Arabic for speaking to siblings and during breaktime

at Arabic school. Yet, the data also show that the children use more English than their parents in similar settings and for communicating with similar types of people. In certain circumstances, as has been noted above (section 3.1), the first generation are constrained to use Arabic: often it is the only language that their own parents and siblings understand; however, generally, the parents also choose to use less English than their children. At an Arabic speaking friend's house, at the mosque and at the Arab shop, when there is an opportunity for choice, the first generation use more Arabic than their children (see figure 26 section 3.1.1.3 and figure 35 section 3.1.2).

Figure 36 below can be looked at in conjunction with figure 25 (section 3.1.1.1), so that the children's choice of language for six topics can be compared with that of their parents. When the responses of the first and second generations are compared the most remarkable result seems to be the discovery that the children claim to use far more English than the first generation for discussing topics on 'religion', 'Moroccan society/culture' and 'family in Morocco'. A further comparison also shows, however, that for the topics on 'British society/culture', 'work/profession' and 'sport' for which the first generation showed a dramatic increase in the use of English (and French and Spanish), the children, generally, appear to use only slightly more English than for the

Figure 36

"How often would you speak these languages when discussing the following topics?"
(Nine respondents: Second generation)

Respondent	Religion				Moroccan society/culture				Family in Morocco				British society/culture				Work/profession			Sport		
	CA	MA	Sc	Std	CA	MA	Sc	Std	CA	MA	Sc	Std	CA	MA	Sc	Std	MA	Sc	Std	MA	Sc	Std
1		2	3	4		2	3	4		2				2	3	4	4	3	2	3	4	2
2		2	3			2	4			2	4			2	3		2	3		2	4	
3		2		4		2		3		2		3		3		3	3		3	3		3
4				1				2		2		3				1			1			2
5		1				1				1					2		1				2	
6		3	3							3	3						3	3		3	3	
7		1				2								2								
8	4	3	3		4	3	3		4	2	1		4	3	3					3	2	
9		2	3			2	1			1				2	1						1	

Responses are measured on a scale 1-5
1 = always, 2 = mostly, 3 = sometimes, 4 = rarely, 5 = never

Abbreviations

CA = Classical Arabic, MA = Moroccan Arabic, Sc = Scottish English, Std = Standard English

first three topics. The children's use of English, therefore, seems to be more or less evenly spread over the six topics; their use of Arabic does not drastically increase when they discuss those topics which were described earlier, with reference to the first generation immigrants, as relating to an *Arabic language* environment (that is, 'religion', 'Moroccan society/culture' and 'family in Morocco').

This result is more significant than is at first apparent; together with the fact that English seems to be of substantial importance for the children in most of the settings and with most of the interlocutors so far mentioned, it indicates that the children as a whole do not have very clearly defined *domains* in which Arabic is the main language of communication. In other words, English encroaches upon the domain 'home' where, previously (usually before all the children go to school), the use of Arabic had more clearly distinguished it from 'school'. Saville-Troike (1982) comments on an analogous situation in which bilingual education poses a threat to minority language maintenance:

"Stability of multiple languages in contact ... occurs where each has a unique domain ... and is thus reserved a continuing function in society. The reason why bilingual education is as likely to result in more rapid linguistic assimilation of minority groups as in minority language maintenance is that it tends to break down the diglossic language distribution between the domains of home and school" (1982:193).

Although the children did clearly show a preference for using Moroccan Arabic at home and with their parents, they

tend to use English when speaking with each other; therefore, when they no longer live in close contact with the first generation Moroccans, there is a strong possibility that the second generation will not maintain their use of Moroccan Arabic in the home.

3.1.3 Responses to Four Other Questions on Language Choice and Topic

Before I look at the fourth and final part of the questionnaire on language choice, that dealing with what Bentahila has described as "types of communicative purpose or mood" (1983:64), I will show which variety, if any, of the languages the first and second generations associated with the other four topics they were asked about. Figures 37 and 38 show their responses. It had been expected that people would differentiate more between the two topics 'education' and 'school'; 'education' being the more formal, abstract topic (referred to in the Arabic questionnaire as *al-taʿlīm*), and 'school' being less formal and also more prone to influence from English since, it was imagined, talking about school would involve the child telling his parents about events which had happened in an *English language environment*, and the parents would be likely to respond to the child in English (this was referred to as *al-madrasa* in the Arabic questionnaire). The results, however, generally show that people reacted similarly to the two topics and there was

Figure 37

"How often would you speak these languages when discussing the following topics?"
(Nine respondents: Second generation)

Respondent	Education					School					Politics				Personal matters			
	CA	MA	Sc	Std	Fr	CA	MA	Sc	Std	Fr	CA	MA	Sc	Std	CA	MA	Sc	Std
1		2		2	2		2		3	4		2						
2		2		3			2		3			3		2			3	2
3		3			3		3			3		3				2		4
4					1					1				1				2
5		1					1										2	
6							3		3								2	
7				3					3									
8	4	3		3		4	3		2			3		2	4	3	2	
9 .		2		2			2		1	.							1	.

Responses are measured on a scale 1-5
1 = always, 2 = mostly, 3 = sometimes, 4 = rarely, 5 = never

Abbreviations

CA = Classical Arabic, MA = Moroccan Arabic, Sc = Scottish English,
Std = Standard English, Fr = French

Figure 38

"How often would you speak these languages when discussing the following topics?"
(Fourteen respondents: First generation)

Respondent	Education						School						Politics					Personal matters				
	CA	MA	AA	Sc	Std	Fr	CA	MA	AA	Sc	Std	Fr	CA	MA	AA	Sc	Std	CA	MA	Sc	Std	Fr
10	1						1	1										1			4	
11																			1			
13		2		2				2		2				1	1				1			
14		1						1								3						
15		1						1						1					1			
16	2	3	3	3				2		3				2					2	2		
17	1	4	2				1	1	1	4				1	4				1	1		
18		1								1									1			
19 .	3									1 .											.	
20 .		1									.								1		.	
21																						
22						1		2				2										
23	1	3		4		3	1	3					2	2		4			3			3
24	2	1		3	2	4	2	1		3	2	4		1		3	2		1			

Responses are measured on a scale 1-5
1 = always, 2 = mostly, 3 = sometimes, 4 = rarely, 5 = never

Abbreviations

CA = Classical Arabic, MA = Moroccan Arabic, Sc = Scottish English,
Std = Standard English, Fr = French

NB Respondent 12 did not answer this question

only a very slight increase in the use of English for discussing the topic 'school'.

There may have been more differentiation between the two topics had the question been more carefully worded and it had been made clear to the parents, in particular, that school was intended to be a topic they discussed with their *children* and not, for example, with their spouses (respondent 17, who said that she used another type of Arabic as well as Classical Arabic and Moroccan Arabic, also seems to discuss this topic with Arab friends). This does not explain, however, why the children claimed to use almost as much Moroccan Arabic as English for the topic 'school'. The original expectation seems to be wrong, that is, the topic 'school' does not seem more prone to influence from English than the topic 'education' afterall, or, rather, the children may be unclear about the intended meanings of the two topics and think of 'school' as being almost synonomous with 'education'. Alternatively, the children's responses could simply reflect the fact that they do not have clearly defined uses for either language. I would suspect that the answer lies in a combination of these approaches.

Respondents 16 and 19 claimed to use Classical Arabic for discussing 'education' but not for 'school' which may indicate that they see 'education' as the more formal topic (Classical Arabic being generally associated with

more formal situations than Moroccan Arabic). It is interesting that respondent 22, bilingual in Arabic and French, claimed to use only French for discussing education, whereas for school he thought he used both Moroccan Arabic and French; this is in accordance with Bentahila's results showing that French was most associated by his bilinguals with the formal domain of education (1983:164), whereas a mixture of Moroccan Arabic and French would be associated with the bilingual's experience at school in conversing, for example, with school friends or with teachers. Respondent 22 may be referring to his own experience in Morocco[31]. On the other hand, respondent 24, the student who also claimed to be highly proficient in French, used French only rarely for these two topics. It is possible that being married to an English woman and having children who are brought up in this country he would not usually discuss either topic with anyone who knew French.

For the topic 'politics' the second generation tended to use more English and the first generation tended to prefer Arabic. Eight of the first generation and four of the second generation did not answer this question. The reaction of respondent 14, who said he sometimes uses Scottish English to discuss politics, implies that he does not discuss politics at home but perhaps talks of it at

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[31] It is interesting though that his wife, respondent 23, also claims to use French for the topic 'education', but not for discussing 'school'.

work or with Scottish friends. Respondents 13 and 17, two women, showed by their choice of Tunisian Arabic and 'another type of Arabic' (respectively) that politics is something they discuss with their Arab friends. It is significant that more than half of those who claimed to talk about politics were women. This may be due to the fact that the women are more likely to meet up with other Arab friends with whom they discuss political matters affecting the Arab world: I have observed that the men do not seem to be as socially active as the women. Nevertheless, it is still puzzling that so few of the first generation claimed to have any interest in this topic. It is possible that people were reluctant to respond positively out of fear of opening the way for further questionning, and their reticence may indicate a reluctance to become involved in any critical discussion about the politics of the Moroccan royal family and government. Some members of the community have expressed, in passing, their dislike for the present Moroccan government, but have not been inclined to discuss this matter further.

People were also asked in which variety of language they would choose to discuss 'personal matters'. This time the results showed very clearly that the first generation preferred Moroccan Arabic. Bentahila showed that his respondents generally preferred a mixture of Arabic and

French for this topic (which is what my Arabic-French bilingual, Respondent 22 also chose), yet Moroccan Arabic was also very popular. Bentahila's explanation of the result was that this type of topic is a "commonplace everyday [topic] likely to provoke casual rather than formal discussion" (1983:63). This is also a reasonable explanation for my respondents' reactions: in a casual, restful situation Moroccan Arabic is the natural language for them to choose because, being the language they are most proficient in, it is the easiest for them to use. (In a similar way most of my first generation respondents preferred Moroccan Arabic for *self-expression*; see figure 39 below).

3.1.4 Language Choice for 'Types of Communicative Purpose or Mood'

Figure 40 and 41 below shows how people reacted to five questions dealing with 'communicative purpose'. Overall, Moroccan Arabic was the preferred language of the first generation for all five communicative purposes. The second generation, on the other hand, gave mixed responses. The most significant response was that regarding 'telling jokes'. The second generation clearly preferred to use English here; this is probably due to the fact that most jokes are learnt at school from English speaking friends. Their parents also claimed to use the most English for telling jokes (although Moroccan Arabic

Figure 39

"Which language do you prefer for self-expression?"

(Fourteen respondents: first generation)

Respondent	Classical Arabic	Moroccan Arabic	Scottish English	Standard English	French
10	✓				
11		✓			
13		✓			
14		✓			
15		✓			
16	✓	✓	✓		
17		✓	✓		
18		✓			
19		✓			
20		✓			
21		✓			
22		✓			
23	✓	✓			✓
24		✓		✓	

NB Respondent 12 did not answer this question

Figure 40

"How often would you speak these languages for the following communicative purposes?"
(Nine respondents: Second generation)

Respondent	For telling jokes				For insulting				To tell-off				To encourage				To be friendly			
	CA	MA	Sc	Std	CA	MA	Sc	Std	CA	MA	Sc	Std	CA	MA	Sc	Std	CA	MA	Sc	Std
1			2	3			1				2	2		3	2	3	2	2	3	3
2		3	2			4	4			3	3			2	3			2	3	
3		4		2				2		3		3		3		3		3		3
4				2				2		3		2		3		2		3		2
5			2			1				1					2			1		
6			2			2	3			2	2			4	2			3	2	
7			2			1				2					3			3		
8	4	3	1		4	3	3		4	3	3		4	4	2		4	4	2	
9		4	1			3	1			3	1			3	1			3	1	

Responses are measured on a scale 1-5
1 = always, 2 = mostly, 3 = sometimes, 4 = rarely, 5 = never

Abbreviations

CA = Classical Arabic, MA = Moroccan Arabic, Sc = Scottish English, Std = Standard English

Figure 41

"How often would you speak these languages for the following communicative purposes?"
(Fourteen respondents: First generation)

Respondent	For telling jokes							For insulting					To tell-off					To encourage					Personal matters						
	CA	MA	AA	Sc	Std	Fr	Sp	MA	AA	Sc	Std	Fr	CA	MA	Sc	Std	Fr	CA	MA	Sc	Std	Fr	CA	MA	AA	Sc	Std	Fr	Sp
10	1				1								1					1			1		1						
11		1	2	2					2	1				2	2				2	2						2	2		
13		2		2				1						2	2				2	2				2		2		
14		1						1						1					1					1					
15		1						1						1					1					1					
16	3	2	3	3			3			3				3	3				3	3			3	3	3	3			3
17		1	4	1				1		1				1	1				1	1				1		1			
18		2		2				1						2	2				2	2				1					
19		1						5											3	3				2		2			
20		3												1					1					1					
21		1						1						1					1					1					
22		3				2		2		3		3		1			3		2			1		3				1	
23		3																	2			3		2				3	
24		1		1	2			1			2			1		2			1		2			2			1		

Responses are measured on a scale 1-5
1 = always, 2 = mostly, 3 = sometimes, 4 = rarely, 5 = never

Abbreviations

CA = Classical Arabic, MA = Moroccan Arabic, Sc = Scottish English,
Std = Standard English, Fr = French, Sp = Spanish

NB Respondent 12 did not answer this question

was still the preferred language). It may be that they prefer to retell the English language jokes their children tell them or which they have picked up from television, in the language in which they heard them - English. Three respondents from the first generation claimed to use another type of Arabic as well (respondent 17 said she used Egyptian Arabic, which gives further evidence of friendly relations with other Arabs. It is interesting to note that the same respondent also claimed to use Egyptian Arabic sometimes 'to be friendly')[32]. Some of the first generation respondents did not want to answer questions on 'insulting' and 'telling off'; one man (respondent 10) told me that he did not insult people and respondent 19 indicated that he *never* used Moroccan Arabic for insulting (nor did he use any other language). As for people's reactions regarding being 'friendly' and 'encouraging', the results show again that the first generation prefer to use Moroccan Arabic, whereas the children, if anything, tended to choose either Scottish English or Standard English.

People were also asked which languages they would choose when they were tired or angry. Their responses are shown in figures 42 and 43. Once again one can see that the first generation definitely do prefer to use Moroccan Arabic, whereas the second generation's results show a

[32]It may be relevant that Egyptians have the reputation for being 'fun loving' people who produce a whole range of jokes.

Figure 42

"How often would you speak these languages when you are tired/angry?"

(Nine respondents: second generation)

Respondent	Tired				Angry			
	CA	MA	Sc	Std	CA	MA	Sc	Std
1		3	2			2	3	
2		3	3			2	2	
3		4		2		4		2
4		2						3
5			2			2		
6		3	2			3	2	
7			1			2		
8	4	3	3		4	3	2	
9		2	1			2	1	

Responses are measured on a scale 1-5

1 = always, 2 = mostly, 3 = sometimes, 4 = rarely, 5 = never

Abbreviations

CA = Classical Arabic, MA = Moroccan Arabic, Sc = Scottish English, Std = Standard English

Figure 43

"How often would you speak these languages when you are tired/angry?"
(Fourteen respondents: first generation)

Respondent	Tired						Angry					
	CA	MA	Sc	Std	Fr	Sp	CA	MA	Sc	Std	Fr	Sp
10	1			4								
11		1						1				
13		1						2	2			
14		1						1				
15		1						1				
16		2	2					2	2			3
17		1	1					1	1			
18		2	2					1				
19		2				3		3				
20		1						1				
21		1						1				
22		3		3	1			2			1	
23		2						2			4	
24		1		2				1		2		

Responses are measured on a scale 1-5
1 = always, 2 = mostly, 3 = sometimes, 4 = rarely, 5 = never

Abbreviations

CA = Classical Arabic, MA = Moroccan Arabic, Sc = Scottish English,
Std = Standard English, Fr = French, Sp = Spanish
NB Respondent 12 did not answer this question

slight tendency towards English. Bentahila showed that his bilingual respondents favoured Arabic when they were "not at their best" (1983:65), that is when they were tired or angry. Respondent 22 (bilingual in Arabic and French) claimed to use more French than Arabic in these moods, although the student (respondent 24), who claimed to be highly proficient in French, did not think he used any French her; neither does he claim to use French for any of the communicative purposes he was asked about. This may be because his family and friends in Britain do not really use French (as has been noted before); or he may simply prefer Moroccan Arabic to express himself. Respondent 19 claimed to use Spanish sometimes when he was tired. The reason he gave was that he associated being tired with being at work, where he would sometimes speak Spanish to a colleague. He did not answer the question properly, however, since the context of the question was 'at home'. It is also noted that people do not appear to use 'another type of Arabic' in either mood, implying that these are moods they experience more at home with their family than, for example, when other Arab friends visit.

Another question which people were asked dealt with language choice for greetings. The responses are shown in figures 44 and 45. Almost all the respondents thought they used Moroccan Arabic, at least some of the time for greetings and over half claimed to use Arabic rather than English. Bentahila also found this to be the case amongst

Figure 44

"How often would you use these languages for greetings?"

(Nine respondents: second generation)

Respondent	Classical Arabic	Moroccan Arabic	Another type of Arabic	Scottish English	Standard English
1		2		2	2
2		2		3	
3		3			3
4		3			2
5		1			
6		2		3	
7		1			
8	4	4		2	
9		2		1	

Responses were measured on a scale 1-5

1 = always, 2 = mostly, 3 = sometimes, 4 = rarely, 5 = never

Figure 45

"How often would you use these languages for greetings?"

(Fourteen respondents: first generation)

Respondent	Classical Arabic	Moroccan Arabic	Another type of Arabic	Scottish English	Standard English	French	Spanish
10	1				1		
11		2	2	2			
13		1					
14		1					
15		1					
16	3	3	3	3	3		3
17		1	2				
18		1					
19	3	3					
20		1					
21		1					
22		1				3	
23		2		2			
24		1		2	2		

Responses were measured on a scale 1-5
1 = always, 2 = mostly, 3 = sometimes, 4 = rarely, 5 = never

NB. Respondent 12 did not answer this question

his informants: "Greetings are among the kinds of highly sterotyped phrases which perhaps remain more available to the bilingual in his first learnt language" (1983:65). In addition, greeting in Arabic is probably more formal than it is in English, and also carrys religious connotations; it is, then, perhaps more likely to become part of a ritual which would be difficult to change. This would account for why the children, overall, claimed to use more Arabic than English, whereas in their answers to the other seven questions dealt with here, they had always tended towards English.

Finally, my respondents were asked about their choice of language for 'formal occasions' (see figures 46 and 47). The responses of the second generation showed a slight tendency towards Moroccan Arabic, but generally the children were more or less equally divided between Arabic and English here (only one person chose Classical Arabic, which he claimed to use 'rarely'). As for the twelve first generation respondents who replied to this question, seven of these people indicated that they would use Moroccan Arabic more than any other language and three people claimed to use Moroccan Arabic and Classical Arabic equally. The reaction of respondent 22 (the Arabic-French bilingual), is, once again, rather interesting. He claims to use more French than any other language, just as Bentahila's Arabic-French bilinguals in Morocco tended to associate French with formal situations (his response also

Figure 46

"Which language would you choose for formal occasions?"

(Nine respondents: second generation)

Respondent	Classical Arabic	Moroccan Arabic	Scottish English	Standard English
1		2	3	
2		2	2	2
3		4		2
4				3
5		1		
6		2	2	
7		1		
8	4	2	4	
9		3	1	

Responses were measured on a scale 1-5
1 = always, 2 = mostly, 3 = sometimes, 4 = rarely, 5 = never

Figure 47

"Which language would you choose for formal occasions?"

(Twelve respondents: first generation)

Respondent	Classical Arabic	Moroccan Arabic	Another type of Arabic	Scottish English	Standard English	French	Spanish
10	1						
11		1					
13		1					
14		1					
16	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
17	1	1	3	4			
18		1					
19		2		3			
20		1					
22		2				1	
23	2	2		3			
24	3	1			2		

Responses were measured on a scale 1-5
1 = always, 2 = mostly, 3 = sometimes, 4 = rarely, 5 = never

NB. Respondents 12, 15 and 21 did not answer this question

suggests that again he is answering the question with reference to his experiences in Morocco rather than in Scotland). Respondent 10 was the only person who said that he would use only Classical Arabic for formal occasions. Overall, Moroccan Arabic seems to be the preferred language for this purpose. Arabic may have been chosen rather than English, or another language, because these respondents experience most formal occasions in the presence of Arabic speaking people, for example, at religious ceremonies, weddings and deaths and so forth. That Moroccan Arabic and not Classical Arabic is associated with formal occasions is interesting since Classical Arabic being the 'high' form of Arabic is generally assumed to be the more 'formal' variety. I have also noted that Classical Arabic is my respondents' preferred variety for some *informal* contexts too (see section 3.1.1.3). In the following and final section I will examine more closely the idea of formality/informality and how it relates to my study, and will compare my results with Bentahila's comments with regard to his Arabic-French bilinguals.

3.1.5 Formality and Informality

I feel that the idea of formality/informality is of such central importance to Bentahila's study that it merits a special comparison with the role it plays in my respondents' language choice and I shall therefore begin

this section by looking at some of Bentahila's observations in this connection. Having identified 'informality' as the main factor influencing his respondents' language choice for personal topics, as well as domestic and sports topics (1983:63), he goes on to say that:

"There is a clear tendency for French to be used more than Moroccan Arabic for the specialized, intellectual topics, and for more Moroccan Arabic than French to be used for the everyday, informal ones. This could also be linked with a tendency for Moroccan Arabic to dominate in the domain of home and family, while French dominates in the domain of education" (ibid:64).

Bentahila identifies five domains: 'home', 'friendship', 'work', 'education' and 'medicine', in order to examine his respondents' language choice. The first two domains he characterises as 'informal', the latter three as 'formal':

"The obvious difference between these two sets of situations is that in the two informal ones both Moroccan Arabic and Arabic and French receive much higher ratings that does French, whereas in each of the formal ones the opposite is true, French receiving much higher ratings than either Moroccan Arabic or Arabic and French. This clear contrast provides more evidence to suggest that the formal/informal distinction is important in accounting for differences of language choice" (ibid:75).

Thus Bentahila's Arabic-French bilinguals seem to associate different languages with different levels of formality, and the degree of formality is, therefore, likely to be one of the main factors influencing their language choice.

The situation is very different in the case of my respondents. As I have suggested (section 3.1.1.3)

English seems to have replaced French (or possibly Spanish) as my respondents' second language; at the same time the use of Arabic is confined to a limited number of settings and interlocutors. It seems reasonable to say that of Bentahila's five domains, 'home', 'friendship', 'work', 'education' and 'medicine' my respondents only have the opportunity to use Arabic in the first two, 'home' and 'friendship', the two *informal* domains. Of the interlocutors and settings which my first generation respondents were asked about, 'parents', 'siblings', 'spouse', 'children' and the setting 'home' are all part of the domain 'home'. 'Arabic speaking friends' (and *their* home) and 'Arab shop' belong to the domain 'friendship'[33]. Only the setting 'mosque' seems to fall outside these domains, although it is possible to treat it as being part of 'friendship' since often at the mosque people meet and socialise with friends (this is especially true of the women who go to the mosque on special festive occasions). In their responses to the questions on language choice in a particular locale (see figure 26 section 3.1.1.3), five people claimed they would use Classical Arabic at the mosque. These were all men except for respondent 23 who claimed to use it 'rarely'. Possibly the men chose Classical Arabic because they *do* associate the mosque with formality (Classical Arabic typically being associated with formal occasions) or

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[33] I include 'Arab shop' in the domain of 'friendship' because my respondents know the Arab shop owners and regard them as friends.

possibly because Classical Arabic is commonly held to be the language of Islam and religious matters. The likelihood is that a combination of both these factors is influencing the men's language choice (Classical Arabic is always in use at the mosque, and the ritual of the prayer and the *khutba* (sermon) are, indeed, very formal). Most of the female respondents claimed to use Moroccan Arabic or another type of Arabic (usually Egyptian); it does seem possible that they associate the mosque more with a place where they meet their friends than the men do[34].

Some of the topics that my respondents were asked about may be described as 'formal' and some as 'informal'. 'Education' and 'work' clearly belong to the domains which Bentahila labelled 'education' and 'work' and which he defined as formal domains (1983:73); 'education' and 'work' may thus be defined as formal topics. 'Politics', since it tends to be an intellectual rather than intimate topic, may also be thought of as a formal topic, as may topics dealing with social and cultural issues, (Bentahila described sociological and cultural/artistic topics as 'relatively highbrow' and 'scholarly'; their nature is "judged to demand the high variety of Arabic rather than the low one" (1983:63).

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[34] Three people claimed to use some Scottish English at the mosque; this is possibly so that they can communicate with non-Arab Muslims who do not speak Arabic.

On the other hand, 'family in Morocco', 'sport', 'school' and 'personal matters' were all intended to be interpreted as informal subjects dealing with more intimate and mundane affairs. As I have noted above some people have not made a great distinction between 'education' and 'school' and perhaps 'school' has been viewed in a more formal way than was expected; respondents 10,17,23 and 24 all claim to use Classical Arabic for both these subjects and the perceived formality of the topics could have been a factor influencing their language choice here. The concept of formality may also have influenced people's responses to the topic 'religion': respondents 10,13,16,17,19 and 23 all claimed to use Classical Arabic more than any other variety, for this topic. As I noted above, Classical Arabic is commonly associated with religion (Islam) and religion can also be a very formal affair; again, the choice of Classical Arabic may be a combination of these two factors. Otherwise, Classical Arabic and Standard English, the two varieties which one would expect to be associated with 'formality' (French and Spanish may also be associated with formality sometimes), are seldom chosen by the first generation respondents for the remaining seven topics (it is noted that Standard English is hardly used at all by these respondents for any of the topics). Conversely, I have mentioned how the perceived informality of the topic, 'personal matters', seems to encourage these first generation respondents to use Moroccan Arabic rather than any other variety.

Bentahila also cited the informal nature of this topic as a reason for his respondents' use of Moroccan Arabic. It was suggested above (see section 3.1.3) that there is a correlation between a relaxed and informal situation and a preference for the language one finds easiest and more natural to use[35].

As for the second generation, respondents 1,8 and 9 also claimed to use Classical Arabic at the mosque, possibly for similar reasons to the five first generation respondents above. Some of the reactions of the second generation seem to indicate respect for older people (which, naturally, would not be apparent in most of the responses of the first generation), for example, respondents 1,8 and 9 use Classical Arabic to their parents (rarely) and at an Arabic speaking friend's house and the Arab shop. Other than this the second generation do not seem to be affected by the idea of formality/informality when they decide which of the two varieties of Arabic they will use.

As I have mentioned, the concept of 'formality and informality' is of central importance to Bentahila's

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35 It seems slightly odd, then, that the first generation, generally, did not think they would use Classical Arabic for 'formal occasions'. It is possible that in the Arabic questionnaire *al-munāsabāt al-rasmīya* might be interpreted as *specific* 'official' occasions for which Moroccan Arabic *is* used (such as when a representative arrives from the Moroccan Embassy in London to collect people's votes).

study. His findings suggest that the use of Arabic and French is in some degree motivated by different levels of formality for different situations and this has rather drastic implications for the progress of *Arabization*, an issue which he deals with in some detail. As for my respondents, the use of Arabic and English is motivated largely by necessity (English must be used to monlingual English speaking people), or by factors other than formality/informality, such as language loyalty. The level of formality of a particular situation therefore seems to have no influence on the respondents' language choice in the case of the two languages, Arabic and English.

As for the two varieties, Classical Arabic and Moroccan Arabic, my first generation respondents have shown attitudes which are consistent with these varieties' relatively 'high' and 'low' status (and it was suggested (section 2.2) that the Classical-Colloquial diglossia is of greater importance to my respondents than it is to Bentahila's Arabic-French bilinguals). There is also some evidence that the level of formality in a given situation sometimes influences which variety my respondents decide to use. However, I have also noted that firstly, my respondents are somewhat restricted to informal domains such as 'home' and 'friendship' in their use of Arabic and secondly, they claim to use Moroccan Arabic (along with other varieties of languages), for formal topics, and

Classical Arabic for informal situations such as conversing with other Arabic speaking friends.

Chapter Four

Sociolinguistic Meaning in Code-Switching

4.0 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to investigate aspects of the parents' speech involving the use of Arabic with English. It was mentioned above (Chapter 1 section 1.2.2) that tape-recordings were made of my respondents, for which I had prepared a number of questions in Moroccan Arabic and that people were expected to answer these questions in Moroccan Arabic. Although people were aware that these sessions formed part of a linguistic study I was engaged in on the Arabic language, they also seemed to view the recordings as an excellent means by which I could learn their language. It must be assumed, therefore, that people appreciated the need to speak in Arabic and not in English during their interview and this should be born in mind when the data is examined and it becomes apparent that English was used during the sessions by many people and, by a few, to a considerable degree. Thus in the case of some of my respondents it appears that English has somehow been incorporated into speech which is largely conducted in Arabic.

A phenomenon such as this, that is the integration of another language, or parts thereof, into the speaker's

mother tongue or his preferred language of communication at any one time, may be studied from several angles and has been variously described in the literature (for example, Gumperz (1977), Sridhar (1978), Rouchdy (1992) etc.). It seems that two of the most common approaches to this phenomenon have been through the study of two distinct, though by no means wholly unrelated concepts: borrowing and code-switching. My impressions were, before applying a more rigorous and systematic analysis to the data, that code-switching was a communicative strategy employed by many of the parents but rarely by any of the children; whereas, it seemed, the children tended to 'borrow' English words to a greater extent than their parents (although the latter did also borrow some English words). I leave a more comprehensive discussion of borrowing, including a perusal of some of what has been written on the subject, to a following chapter, in which I will also deal with the language behaviour of the second generation.

It should be mentioned here, however, that it is not always easy to distinguish borrowing from code-switching. It has been implied that borrowing means that the speaker has simply "inserted a word from another language" (Peñalosa 1980:59), whereas the implication of code-switching is that the speaker has "changed grammatical systems in mid-sentence" (ibid), and there is probably general agreement amongst linguists that it is quite

possible to contrast borrowing and code-switching in this way. Yet recent research has shown that code-switching should not be seen merely from the point of view of grammar; its study has an important bearing on how we can assess the way speakers both handle social situations and satisfy their own personal needs/goals, since code-switching can also imply a shift in the 'social situation' or involve 'communicative intent' on the part of the speaker.

Code-switching may be, and indeed has been, compared to *stylistic* variation, that is a bilingual speaker has at his finger tips two languages upon which he may draw in a given instance to much the same, or even greater effect, as when a monolingual speaker makes use of the different styles of speaking which are available to him. It may actually be argued that the study of code-switching is far simpler than looking at stylistic variation since it is so much more obvious when it is taking place. As Mats Thelander (1976) points out, stylistic variation usually involves the study of single linguistic variables as well as, or perhaps rather than, the study of "sociolects, registers or styles, as if they were distinct systems of the repertoire" (1976:103). It is, in fact, precisely this problem: what level of analysis is appropriate to his "site of investigation" (a small community in Northern Sweden where both a dialect and standard Swedish are spoken), which Thelander addresses at some length. He

proposes a "compromise between a macrolinguistic and microlinguistic approach ... an index of dialect level which incorporates a model of discrete speech varieties into a spectrum or continuous variation" (ibid:104).

This problem, of course, has no relevance here; there is no question of ambiguity as to the level of analysis required: Mats Thelander would describe the present study in terms of a *macrolinguistic* level of analysis which means, in his words, that "an observer has little difficulty in deciding in which speech variety a certain speaker is expressing himself at any given instant" (ibid:103). Despite these obvious advantages a study of the sort undertaken here does require the researcher to have adequate knowledge of the two languages under investigation; and when the researcher is not already bilingual in the two languages this is no small impediment to his/her rate of progress.

It must be remarked at this point that either the term 'code-switching' is not always universally employed (some other word being used instead), or other terms are also introduced by writers to express some of the subtleties involved in its analysis. Sometimes 'language-switching' or simply 'switching' may be used. Other people use the term 'code-mixing', which, if it is not equivalent in meaning to 'code-switching', nevertheless describes a phenomenon which might be seen as being very close to it.

Sridhar (1978) describes code-mixing as "a type of language interaction in which two or more languages in the speaker's repertoire interact to produce a new 'mixed' code characterized by distinctive formal properties and fulfilling specific functional roles" (1978:109). Naturally, whether one regards this as also being a description of a form of code-switching or not depends on one's understanding of what code-switching signifies. Sridhar understands code-switching to be primarily indicative of "a corresponding switch in the social situation" (ibid:111) and, according to him code-mixing seems to be differentiated from code-switching on two accounts: its function, that is it does not reflect a shift in the social situation but is, rather, connected with and indeed evokes "a certain type of attitudinal association" (ibid:113); and its manner of expression, which involves, as the term itself suggests, the seemingly haphazard 'mixing up' of languages which may occur several times within a single sentence; whereas, code-switching, being understood to mean the "*alternate* use of two or more languages or varieties in distinct social or functional domains" (ibid:111) can hardly be expected to occur frequently within a conversation and is most unlikely to occur within a single sentence.

It is probably not entirely correct to view code-switching as being primarily indicative of a 'change in social situation', at least not if one's attention is drawn to

what has been written on the subject by other people. Blom and Gumperz (1972), for example (and other writers), differentiate between situational and metaphorical switching as two distinct and equally important forms of code-switching. Actually, the approaches of Sridhar and Blom and Gumperz are not markedly different. Sridhar wishes to highlight the fact that the switching of languages either involves "a corresponding switch in the social situation" (1978:111), as in code-switching or, in the case of code-mixing, takes place "*within* a single social event" (ibid); his study being concerned with the latter. Sridhar's use of terminology, code-switching and code-mixing, can be compared to the terminology adopted by Blom and Gumperz, situational and metaphorical switching. Situational switching, like the code-switching described by Sridhar, "assumes a direct relationship between language and the social situation" (Blom and Gumperz 1972:424) and "involves clear changes in the participants' definition of each other's rights and obligations" (ibid); whilst metaphorical switching does not relate to "change in social situation" (ibid:425) but seems to depend on attitudes to, and associations with, the languages involved. The two approaches seem to rely firstly on determining whether or not there has been a redefinition of the social situation.

Although it does sometimes become confusing when a different terminology is applied to similar, or indeed, at

times, identical concepts, one is at least sure of some consensus on approach. It becomes more difficult when the same terminology is applied to different approaches. This, I feel, is the case when one tries to compare situational and metaphorical switching as defined by Blom and Gumperz with how the same two items are described in the work of Fishman (1972b).

Unlike the approach of Blom and Gumperz or Sridhar, Fishman's approach to the treatment of code-switching appears to emphasise the importance of *whether or not the switch conforms* to the code allocation expected within a given social situation. He writes that

"... *situational switching is governed by common allocation*, ie., by widespread normative views and regulations that commonly allocate a particular variety to a particular cluster of topics, places, persons and purposes. *Metaphorical switching, on the other hand, is governed by uncommon or contrastive allocation.* It is operative as a departure from the common allocations that are normally operative" (1972b:42)(Fishman's italics).

In other words a situational switch is seen as being triggered by the topic, interlocutor, setting and purpose with which it is associated; whereas in a metaphorical switch a particular variety is used for the topic, interlocutor, setting and purpose to which it is not commonly allocated. Fishman goes on to describe the use of metaphorical switching for the purposes of humour:

"The very fact that humor during a formal lecture is realized through a metaphorical switch to another variety must be indicative of an underlying sociolinguistic regularity, perhaps of the view that lecturelike or formal situations are generally associated with one language or variety whereas levity or intimacy is tied to another" (ibid:43).

Fishman appears to contradict himself here because in this example a variety is used in a metaphorical switch for a purpose (ie. humour) with which it is associated. However, it seems that Fishman's definition of metaphorical switching should be seen in terms of congruent situations for which the term 'purpose' signifies the purpose of the social situation taking place, and not the purpose of the code-switch itself. It is necessary to see Fishman's approach in terms of *congruent* situations since the type of switch is identified by looking at how the topic, interlocutor, setting *and* purpose all relate to the variety which is being used. In order for the approach to be meaningful topic, interlocutor, setting and purpose (the ingredients of such a situation) must each relate to this variety in a similar way before it can be decided whether the variety is one which is commonly associated with the social situation. It follows, therefore, that Fishman is dealing here with *congruent* situations and, furthermore, that his approach is akin somewhat to the analysis of domains[36].

The concept of 'domain', as developed by Fishman, is, of course, an invaluable aid to sociolinguistic analysis, particularly in studies on language choice in a diglossic community (see, for example, Bentahila 1983), and it is

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36 Fishman follows Robert L Cooper in defining *domains* as a "cluster of social situations typically constrained by a common set of behavioral rules" (1972b:54). See R L Cooper in L G Kelly (ed) The Description and measurement of Bilingualism Toronto (1969) p.202.

useful as well in the analysis of situational switching as defined by Blom and Gumperz. Fishman also uses this concept to help him define metaphorical switching. Somehow it seemed that, although the *associations* of a language do often depend on its allocation to "a particular cluster of topics, places, persons and purposes" (Fishman (1972:42)), a language *switch* cannot always be seen solely in these terms. As far as the present study is concerned it would be more relevant in the actual analysis of code-switching to concentrate on the way in which the associations of a particular language can serve a speaker's communicative intent rather than looking at how the use of a particular language relates to the social situation as a whole, since my respondents were recorded in settings for which purpose, place and usually person (ie. the participants/audience) remained constant for each speaker.

As for the topic of conversation, naturally, it did not remain constant throughout the session, and it seemed to me, after a preliminary look at the data, that topic was an important factor affecting language choice. Blom and Gumperz (1972), showed, by their research in Norway, that in some situations topical variations had no connection with code-switching whereas in other situations a change in topic was not only able to elicit a code-switch but was highly likely to do so. This depended on whether only 'local relationships' were to be enacted within the

situation or whether 'non-local relationships' were also included (1972:428). Fishman too recognised that topic is often related to language choice, that is different topics seem to be allocated to different languages. The reason for this depended on several factors:

"Thus, some multilingual speakers may "acquire the habit" of speaking about topic x in language X partially because that is the language in which they are *trained* to deal with this topic ... partially because *they (and their interlocutors)* may *lack the specialized terms* for a satisfying discussion of x in language Y, partially because *language Y itself may currently lack as exact or as many terms* for handling topic x as those currently possessed by language X, and partially because *it is considered strange* or inappropriate to discuss x in language Y" (1972c:439-440) (Fishman's italics).

The interplay of the many different factors, suggested to Fishman that topic was not a suitable variable at all in *his* analysis of language choice.

Fishman's analysis of language choice, as was mentioned above, is related to the study of domains. He has chosen this approach because of the nature of his research in which he is concerned with "the larger societal patterns ... of a multilingual setting" (ibid:440), rather than "face-to-face interaction" (ibid), which is crucial to the approach of Blom and Gumperz. He distinguishes between the two approaches by using the terms *macro-* and *micro*sociolinguistics which refer, respectively, to a more - or a less - 'generalized description of sociolinguistic variation' (1972:450). Unlike Mats Thelander's work in which similar terminology is used, Fishman's use of the term *micro*sociolinguistics would be more applicable to the

study in hand since this study does not seek to uncover large-scale patterns which are immediately relevant to whole communities, but is, like the research carried out by Blom and Gumperz, more relevant to individual situations and people. This does not mean, however, that the two approaches are mutually exclusive; on the contrary the 'larger societal patterns' which Fishman talks about only become apparent after individual behaviour has been observed. On the other hand, individual behaviour can, to some extent, be viewed in the context of, and explained by, the established patterns. The analysis of situational switching depends on understanding how people redefine situations and why they associate one variety rather than another with their new definition: the study of domains directly sheds light on this process as far as different situations correspond to different domains. Furthermore in studies dealing with domains people have been found to associate a variety with one domain rather than another which means that these associations can be put to highly effective use in metaphorical switching and consequently can be an important consideration in its analysis.

4.1 Situational Switching

A word must be said about situational switching and to what extent it is relevant to the data to be presented here. It seems that Fishman's definition of metaphorical and situational switching and the definition proposed by

Blom and Gumperz are not incompatible, the most important distinction being one of emphasis. As I mentioned above the nature of the research being carried out here means that what Fishman would term a *micro*sociolinguistic approach is appropriate to the analysis of the data I have collected. However, Timm (1974/5:476) has pointed out that situational switching is typical of a diglossic situation and is often triggered by a change in domain, in which case a more *macro*sociolinguistic level of analysis is required. It was hoped that the previous chapter on language choice would make it clear that the language community which is formed by Moroccan Arabic speakers in Edinburgh cannot properly be described as a 'diglossic community', at least not in the sense in which Bentahila uses the term, that is: "... where the use of each variety is closely related to the set of values attributed to it, the high variety being associated with formality and prestige and the low variety with the converse" (1983:51). As I suggested earlier my respondents form a close-knit group within which the use of Arabic predominates; whereas communication with society at large is almost always conducted in English as a matter of necessity. English and Arabic only have defined roles to play in as far as 'group activities' are distinguished from the activities undertaken outwith the group, ie. in the 'outside world'. Even this distinction becomes somewhat blurred when one considers the fact that the children, or second generation, constantly introduce

English into the group[37]. Situational switching would not, therefore, occur in the same way as it presumably does amongst Bentahila's Arabic-French bilinguals who, having been asked which languages they would choose to speak in five domains: *home, friends, work, medicine* and *education*, claimed to use Moroccan Arabic and French in such a way as to reflect the distinction between formal and informal domains (Bentahila 1983:78).

It is for this reason that I would prefer to connect situational switching with a change in the social situation. Blom and Gumperz relate situational switching not so much to social situation but to *social events* which are, according to them, manifestations of "alternative social definitions of the situation" (1972:423). They give, as an example of a situational switch, a description of how, during their study of code-switching in Hemnesberget in Norway, a group of 'locals' reacted when their conversation was interrupted by the approach of the two 'outsiders': "... our arrival caused a significant alteration in the casual posture of the group. Hands were removed from pockets and looks changed. Predictably, our remarks elicited a code switch marked simultaneously by a change in channel cues (ie. sentence speed, rhythm, more hesitation pauses, etc.) and by a shift from (R) to (B)

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[37] Timm (1974/5:476) describes this situation as "quasi-diglossic".

grammar" (1972:424)[38]. The language shift described here may also be seen as a reflection of a change in the social situation since what Blom and Gumperz call 'personnel' has changed; ie. two outsiders have joined the group of locals and thus there has been a shift in the 'person' (or 'interlocutor') of the social situation.

Although situational switching of this type certainly does occur amongst Moroccans in Edinburgh, for instance when a parent who has been talking to a child in English switches to Arabic to address an adult Moroccan friend, this type of switching does not occur very frequently in the data I have collected during 'field work', this largely being due to the fact that people were recorded in a slightly formal setting in which I was often their sole interlocutor. The only occasion when it seems to occur are when there have been one, or more, other people present during the session. The following may be treated as an example of a situational switch: S.A. has been describing to me in English a book she has been reading; when Z.A. interrupts her she temporarily suspends her description and turns her attention to answering Z.A., at the same time she also switches to Arabic:

(1) S.A.: ... it's based on a girl it's like it goes through different ... it's like ... y'know it goes through in stages like y'know you've got a seed time, harvest time ... em ...

[38] That is, from dialectal to standard Norwegian grammar.

Z.A.: *qulha b-l ʿArabīya*! [TELL HER IN ARABIC!]

S.A.: *manʿarafsi kayfs ngulha b-l ʿArabīya* [I DON'T KNOW HOW TO TELL HER IN ARABIC] ... and those times y'know are sort of like ... it's like a circle y'know how things change

When S.A. turns her attention back to me she switches back to English. Certainly the use of English is dictated by the difficulty S.A. encounters in speaking of certain topics in Arabic (here a book written in English), but her use of Arabic is a response to both a request in Arabic and the fact that she is addressing a new interlocutor who is her mother. Whilst children are a major factor influencing their parents' language choice and are the most likely directly to encourage the use of English in the home[39], the parents, in turn, exert their influence in such a way as to counter this effect the children have on language. The fact that S.A. is responding to a command already in Arabic does not necessarily mean her response will also be in Arabic, but because her addressee is her mother there is an increased likelihood that it will be. This is because when S.A. switches her attention to Z.A. she is aware of an *obligation* to reply in Arabic since this would usually be her normal linguistic behaviour with her mother[40]. Thus the temporary redefinition of the situation also involves a temporary redefinition of obligations. Lesley Milroy (1980:25)

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39 This was mentioned in the previous chapter (section 3.1.2).

40 I say this because in her answers to the questionnaire S.A. claims to speak mostly in Moroccan Arabic with her parents.

mentions the obligations of speakers and how, in an interview setting, the presence of family or friends impels the interviewee to speak in a *normal* way, that is in the way he would normally speak in their presence. She gives an example of a Belfast youth who "suddenly adopted an obviously marked style" (ibid:60) due to the fact that he was being recorded. She noted how the mocking reaction of his friends induced a swift return to the vernacular; "Thus obligations to the group were stronger than the influence of both the recording equipment and an outside participant ... " (ibid:61). Perhaps this idea may be modified for the purpose of the above example in that *presence* of family or friends will not, by itself, always ensure the domination of obligations to family or friends, but these obligations are more likely to be maintained if family or friends *actively participate* in the interview.

Situational switching seems not only to reflect a redefinition of the social event or situation, but may also be thought of as a *dynamic strategy* by which such a redefinition may actually be brought about. This dynamic aspect of code-switching is central to the approach of Scotton and Ury (1977) who concentrate on two reasons for switching, that is to "redefine the interaction as appropriate to a different social arena or to avoid, through continual code-switching, defining the interaction in terms of any specific social arena" (1977:6). In the example of the situational switch which I have just

mentioned Z.A. may be thought of as attempting to redefine the situation in terms of the primary purpose of the session, which is to record S.A. speaking in Arabic. In this case Z.A. only manages a partial redefinition before S.A. switches back to English again. In the following snatch of conversation Z.A., who has been talking about the *ḥajj* and what one is expected to do on returning from the *ḥajj*, again attempts to redefine the situation, but this time her purpose is quite different and she switches to English:

(2) Z.A.: *... li kiyimšī wa yḥiž oo kayrža kayʿamil bih ... fahma kayʿamil bih?* [WHOEVER GOES AND PERFORMS THE HAJJ AND RETURNS, ACTS ACCORDINGLY ... DO YOU UNDERSTAND 'ACT ACCORDINGLY'?] ... er explain for her explain for her Samia for her

S.A.: *zama kt- kay- mi(l) kiymši tm:a f-ḥal hiya qalt lik wil:a mšiti n dik lmutaʿ yasik mil žit-* [THAT IS ... WHEN ONE GOES THERE, AS SHE TOLD YOU, IF YOU GO TO THAT PLACE YOU WOULD HAVE TO, WHEN YOU CAME-] /X

Z.A.: no mistakes anymore

S.A.: *xasik tqtaʿ dik šiy li kunti katʿamil kemil ...* [YOU WOULD HAVE TO STOP THAT THING YOU USED TO DO COMPLETELY]

The major factors affecting language choice in the recording sessions include the researcher (myself), or rather my status as a non-native speaker of Arabic and my uncertain position within the community; and as has already been mentioned, the way in which people viewed the recording sessions as an opportunity for me to learn Arabic and their genuine desire to be helpful. This last circumstance leads, it seems, to there being two conflicting thoughts uppermost in the respondents' minds.

The respondents juggle with two possibilities: either to try to speak Arabic all the time, in accordance with what is ostensibly the point of the session, or sometimes to use English as well in order to clarify for me something they think I will not understand. It is in the light of these conflicting thoughts that Z.A.'s behaviour can best be understood. As we saw in the first example above, Z.A. switches to Arabic because she is conscious of the purpose of the session and wishes to redefine the situation in terms of this purpose. In the second example, however, Z.A. interrupts a flow of Arabic to turn to address her daughter in English because uppermost in her mind is the need for me to understand clearly what she is saying, the switch to English redefining the situation in terms of this need. In this case the failure of S.A. to respond, by making a corresponding switch to English, later causes Z.A. to furnish me with an explanation in English herself (she does not feel her daughter's explanation in Arabic will be adequate). Thus, contrary to what one might anticipate, it is Z.A. who introduces English here, whilst her daughter persists in using Arabic, the example shows how factors within the context of the interaction itself can bring about a reversal of one's expectations.

In connection with this last point, Scotton and Ury (1977) are also wary of expectations and dissociate themselves from the idea that interactions *preexist* rather than *evolve*: in other words one can never be sure in what way

people will interact, or, more to the point, whether they will behave towards each other in the same way throughout the interaction. It is, therefore, unwise, Scotton and Ury argue, to see language use as a "fixed choice" (1977:9). According to Scotton and Ury metaphorical and situational classifications imply that interactions are "preexisting clusters of topics, participants etc., to which a particular linguistic variety is allocated by societal norms" (ibid). This is because they define metaphorical and situational switching in the same way as Fishman, that is "a particular linguistic variety is allocated to a particular cluster of topics, places, persons or purposes" (ibid:5), a code-switch symbolising a switch in cluster. It is for this reason that they dispense altogether, for the purposes of their study, with the idea of situational and metaphorical switching, and concentrate simply on the dynamic aspect of code-switching, to which attention has already been drawn above. The idea of metaphorical switching and how it relates to the study in hand will be discussed presently. However, it is well to point out that Scotton and Ury's approach demonstrates that, although the metaphorical and situational classifications are useful, they need not always be referred to in every study (Sridhar, as we saw, does not base his approach on these classifications either). Furthermore, it would be difficult to apply to some types of code-switching either of the two terms; this very often being the case with repetition, in which a

speaker repeats his message, either literally or in a modified form, in the other code. In an Arabic conversation between, say, one of the Moroccan mothers and her daughter about a day-to-day topic such as a visit to the dentist, the mother may well repeat a word or sentence in English solely for reasons of clarity. In this case both the situational and metaphorical classifications would be wholly inappropriate because no redefinition of the situation has taken place, and no metaphorical meaning was intended either. Repetition occurs fairly frequently in the corpus. In the following example both the Arabic and English are repetitions of what S.O. has said before. The switch to English ensures that she gets her message across:

(3) S.O.: *er la ... hiya er tqraʾ f-ʒamiʿa, mazel tqraʾ f-ʒamiʿa yaʿni* [ER NO ... SHE ER IS STUDYING AT UNIVERSITY, SHE IS STILL STUDYING AT UNIVERSITY, THAT IS] she's in highers, she want to study ... very high

Because our conversation took place in a recording session, however, one might argue that the switch to English *does* represent a situational switch because the situation has temporarily been redefined in terms of my need to understand rather than the need to speak always in Arabic, as was the case in the example above. The difference between this example and the previous examples is that Z.A. unlike S.O. was clearly attempting to *bring about* a redefinition of the situation. It is not clear whether one can treat the present example as a situational switch because it is not clear that S.O. was thinking

particularly in terms of the purpose of the interview (that is, the need to speak in Arabic); her tape differed from that of Z.A. and her daughter (S.A.), in that English was spoken to a lesser extent and there seemed to be no *conscious effort* to try and speak only in Arabic. In other words, S.O. may have been thinking primarily in terms of getting her message across *prior to* switching to English, particularly since the Arabic is also a repetition of what she said before; if this is the case S.O. has not redefined the situation because her purpose has not changed. The problem of classification encountered here highlights the fact that one cannot always be sure, for every code-switch whether or not the term 'situational switching' applies.

Repetitions not only clarify what is said but often they serve to "amplify or emphasise a message" (Gumperz 1977:16). This is clearly what the following speaker intended when he switched *from* English *to* Arabic:

(4) A.A.: *kitu'a l-ay:i waḥid* [IT HAPPENS TO ANYBODY] as a British man they said: Oh! ... I'm goin' to Australia, I'm goin' to Canada, *ana ɣadi nimšī n Canada ... aw ana ɣadi nimšī n Australia ... aw ana ɣadi nimšī America ... awla ɣadi nimšī n Middle-East matalan* [AND I WILL GO TO CANADA ... OR I WILL GO TO AUSTRALIA ... OR I WILL GO TO AMERICA ... OR I WILL GO TO THE MIDDLE-EAST FOR EXAMPLE][41]

I had asked A.A. why he and his family had come to

[41] It was a feature of A.A.'s dialect that the phoneme /q/ was regularly omitted. This is shown in the transcriptions by the sign /'/.

Britain, but before he answers my question he wishes to emphasise the fact that British people also emigrate. He does this firstly by switching to English in order to draw attention to his example; he then switches to Arabic in order to repeat and elaborate on what he has just said. He indicates by the nature of his response that he feels he must give some excuse for emigrating to Britain, presumably because he is aware of some hostility to immigrants in this country. The emphasis is increased by his use of the first person singular and his assumed role as different British men emigrating to many distant lands; and the effect is further compounded when he drops in, at the very end, *awla ɣadi nimši n Middle-East matalan*, suggesting that what he really wanted to say, and has been building himself up to say, is that British people also emigrate to his part of the world and cannot therefore criticise him for coming to Britain. The example shows, throughout, A.A.'s desire to emphasise what he sees to be an important point: in switching for repetition there is no doubt that he intended to amplify his message and did not intend to redefine the situation. His switch to English, however, at the beginning of the example calls to mind the associations connected with that language and enhances his subject matter, namely British people. The use of English does not simply serve to draw attention to his example but seems to exaggerate and emphasise the fact that he is talking about *British* people. This may be termed a *metaphorical* use of language; or metaphorical

switching.

4.2 Metaphorical Switching

In the recording sessions metaphorical switching is bound to occur to a lesser extent than it does when people are talking informally amongst themselves, without the distraction of either the recording equipment or the outside participant (that is, the researcher). This is because metaphorical switching tends to be characteristic of unmarked or informal speech, in which the respondent is expressing his *true feelings*; rather than the more formal style which occurs when the speaker is paying careful attention to his language. Labov (1966) differentiates, for the purposes of his study of speech patterns in New York City, between two major styles of speaking: *casual speech* and *careful speech*; these may be seen to denote, respectively, the informal and formal speech styles which have just been mentioned. In an interview situation what Labor defines as *spontaneous speech* may also arise, in which the speaker forgets the constraints of the formal setting and speaks in an 'excited' or 'emotionally charged' manner. Labov also defines spontaneous speech as the 'counterpart' of casual speech, casual speech being "in a narrow sense, ... the everyday speech used in informal situations, where no attention is directed to language" (1966:180); moreover, according to Labov, in a general sense, casual speech also includes spontaneous

speech since, in this latter style, the formal situation is temporarily suspended[42]. Casual speech in its general sense, as defined by Labov, occurs in the tape-recordings I have made with my respondents, especially when the respondent was speaking of something he or she felt strongly about; it is during speech such as this that I have observed metaphorical switching to take place.

I should reiterate at this point how I propose to interpret the term metaphorical switching. As has already been mentioned above, Fishman understands this type of switching to signify the use of a linguistic variety for the topic, places, persons and purposes to which it is *not* commonly allocated, and in this sense it may be seen to be diametrically opposed to situational switching: this is because Fishman is concerned with *macro*-sociolinguistic research which requires a *macro* level of analysis. However, as I have already stated, the present study is more relevant to a *micro* level of analysis and is, in this way, of a similar nature to the work carried out by Blom and Gumperz (1972) or Gumperz (1977), for example. Gumperz (1977) treats metaphorical switching as being a far more complex phenomenon than that suggested by

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42 Labov recognised casual speech by certain channel cues which were based upon his "general knowledge of these socially significant signs" (ibid:133). These channel cues were changes in tempo, pitch range, volume and rate of breathing, and also included laughter (ibid:110). He combined these channel cues with 'intuitive observations' in order to identify when casual speech was taking place.

Fishman's approach. He compares the situational alternation which is characteristic of a diglossic situation and which is relevant to Fishman's work with the 'metaphorical and conversational usage' in which he himself is interested. In the diglossic situation, "There is a simple, almost one-to-one, relationship between language usage and social context, so that each variety can be seen as having a distinct place or function within the local speech repertoire" (1977:2); on the other hand, in conversational code-switching (that is, metaphorical switching here), "Rather than claiming that speakers use language in response to a fixed, predetermined set of prescriptions, it seems more reasonable to assume that they build on their own and their audience's abstract understanding of situational norms, to communicate metaphoric information about how they intend their words to be understood" (ibid:3). Gumperz's approach to metaphorical switching is broadly the approach I propose to adopt here, in other words, rather than seeing a language as being commonly allocated to certain preexisting interactions, in which a metaphorical switch signifies an unexpected code-allocation, I would prefer to concentrate on how metaphorical switching acts as a mechanism by which the associations of a language bring an extra and imaginative dimension to the meaning of speech.

Gumperz also contrasts the code alternation amongst bilinguals with the alternation of dialect variables

amongst monolingual speakers, an important distinction between them being the fact that dialect variables have been shown to relate to "macro-sociological categories, such as social class, ethnic identity, education and the like" (1977:9), whilst this is not necessarily so with code variation. According to Gumperz this accounts for why Labov (1971) concluded that a passage of Spanish-English code-switching, which he refers to in his work, was an "irregular mixture of two distinct systems" (1971:457): presumably Labov was thinking more in terms of dialect variables than of code alternation. Gumperz argues that: "if it is true that code-switching styles serve as functioning communicative systems, if members can agree on interpretations of switching in context and on categorizing others on the basis of their switching, there must be some regularities and shared perceptions on which these judgements are based" (1977:9). But if, as Gumperz suggests, the passage cited by Labov is not idiosyncratic afterall, it would still be a difficult task to explain every single instance of the code-switching as a function of 'regularities and shared perceptions' by which this particular speaker is imparting metaphorical meanings to her audience. It must be for this reason that Gumperz suggests that "the process by which meaning is conveyed must be studied in terms of the stylistic interrelationship of sentences and phrases within the passage as a whole, not in terms of the internal structure of particular sentences" (ibid:11). With regard to the

meaning of individual switches Sridhar has expressed similar sentiments when he wrote about *code-mixing*: he found it impossible to identify social correlates for every single instance of a shift, and proposed that any explanation of code-mixing would be best attempted by looking at the alternation between 'mixed' and 'non-mixed' varieties (1978:111).

At times, however, it is possible to relate a single switch to a metaphorical meaning; this is often the case, for example with switching for topic in which one language is associated with the topic more than another. Thus A.A.'s switch to English above helped to 'transport' his audience (myself), to a *British* rather than Arab scene (at the same time, one might say, that his switch to English also *reflected* how A.A. himself was thinking at that moment). As I noted above the effect of A.A.'s switch to English is undoubtedly to *emphasise* his message, emphasis often being one of the results of code-switching. It is worth mentioning here an incident which happened soon after I had got to know some of the Moroccans in Edinburgh and which, although not captured on the tape-recorder, will nevertheless illustrate how effective switching can sometimes be. The example is somewhat unusual because it involved a Tunisian woman talking to one of my Moroccan respondents, in my presence, about how I had upset an Egyptian friend of hers. It would, of course, be impossible to recall exactly what the Tunisian woman said,

even had I understood her properly at the time; what I do remember clearly, however, are the words she used (and repeated two or three times) when she switched to English, that is "she was very upset" and "very upset". The code-switching here might be interpreted as metaphorical in the sense that English was used to signify how serious the matter was, English perhaps having associations with formality and objectivity and the switch to English thereby having the authority of a factual statement. But before one can treat the shift to English as being metaphorical, one would have to know for whom it was intended. Had the conversation simply been between my Moroccan respondent and the Tunisian lady and not in my presence it is hard to say whether English would have been used at all. It did seem at the time, and does still seem on reflection, that the switch to English was at least partly directed at me. If this is so the purpose of the switching lay not in a metaphorical meaning, directed to my Moroccan respondent, but in the fact that the Tunisian woman wanted to communicate to me that I had done something to upset her friend, without either telling me directly or letting me know exactly what it was I had done. Whether or not it is correct to interpret the Tunisian woman's behaviour in this way one might still imagine my discomfort when not only was I unable to understand what was being said about me to my new Moroccan acquaintance, but also the brief switches to English let me know that it was most certainly not something

favourable.

I found none of the switching, metaphorical or otherwise, which I recorded in the sessions with my Moroccan respondents to be so effective as this which I have just described. This particular instance was, admittedly, not typical of code-switching in general, since its effect was largely due to the fact that I did not understand one of the alternating codes. It might perhaps be seen though as an extreme example of how a switch to another language can emphasise and/or clarify certain parts of the speaker's message: sometimes metaphorical switching, such as A.A.'s switch to English above, can serve to throw into relief words or phrases in a similar way.

4.2.1 Metaphorical Switching and the Associations of a Language

The fascination of metaphorical switching lies in the fact that its meaning is ultimately derived from the associations of the language being switched to. Therefore, before one can understand the full import of a metaphorical switch, one must know in what way the speaker himself views the languages in question. Gumperz has also written that, "knowledge of cultural values and social factors affecting language use are a necessary starting point for any study of code-switching" (1977:12). The researcher who first approaches a community as an

'outsider' must, then, learn something of that community's social structure and system of values and beliefs. In my own case the nature of my fieldwork, during which I organised the questionnaires and tape-recording and, later, returned to my respondents for help with understanding the recordings, meant that I made many visits to my Moroccan families and thus I not only came to know them very well but was also able to gain insight into the way of life of the community as a whole. During the recording sessions I had the opportunity to question my respondents further about issues which seemed to me, from previous observations, to be of particular interest to them; in addition the questionnaire probed people's language attitudes and included an investigation into 'language choice'.

The formal investigation into people's language attitudes is significant, to some extent, in the consideration of metaphorical switching. The questionnaire helped me to form a clearer idea of people's attitudes to the languages and provided the forum for several discussions and stimulated much thought about their views in general. The formal study of language *choice* was also highly relevant to the study of code-switching; for example, asking speakers which language(s) they would choose to speak in certain circumstances (specifying interlocutor and locale for instance) would immediately throw light on situational switching and might enable one to predict when this would

occur[43]. An examination of language choice is also relevant to metaphorical switching, albeit in a less explicit way, since it gives an indication of some of the associations people make between a language and particular topics, interlocutors, etc.. The answers to the questionnaire strongly suggested that most of the first generation respondents associated some topics very much with Arabic whilst others tended to be thought of as topics for which a significant amount of English would be used (see section 3.1.1). This led me to conclude that three of the topics in the questionnaire; 'religion', 'Moroccan society and culture' and 'family in Morocco' were associated in the minds of these respondents with an *Arabic language* environment and three more topics; 'British society and culture', 'work/profession' and 'sport' belonged more to a *non-Arabic* (mostly *English*) *language* environment.

In other studies dealing with metaphorical switching attention has been drawn to the opposing values represented by the two alternating codes. Gal, for instance, talks of the conflict between traditional and modern values in Oberwart, Austria: Hungarian representing old-fashioned ways, whilst German represents a more modern

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[43] For instance, in her study on German/Hungarian bilinguals in Austria, Gal (1979) was able to predict which language(s) would be spoken in any situation, on the basis that people *always* chose to speak the same language (or a mixture of both languages), to the same interlocutor (whatever the situation).

lifestyle (1979:174). Economic factors are also involved, for while the use of Hungarian is associated with 'peasant status', "German has come to symbolise the higher status of the worker and the prestige and money that can be acquired by wage work" (ibid:106). Hill and Hill (1980) in their study on "Metaphorical switching in modern Nahautl" describe the opposition of power versus solidarity, which is symbolised by the use of Spanish and Nahautl respectively. "Nahautl", they say, "is becoming a 'language of solidarity'" (1980:122), yet switching to Spanish evokes, "the power and prestige of Spanish-speaking society" (ibid), and lends "dignity and force to Nahautl utterances" (ibid). These and many other similar studies suggest that tensions which exist between minority and majority communities can come to be symbolised by the use of the respective languages of these communities. Indeed, Gumperz has noted the tendency for the minority language in a bilingual community to be regarded as the 'we code' and to be associated with 'in group and informal activities' and the majority language to be seen as the 'they code' and to be associated "with the more formal, stiffer and less personal out-group relations" (1977:6).

To some extent this also seems to be true of the Moroccan community in Edinburgh with regard to British society, for, as I have noted above, the first generation Moroccans give indications of associating particular spheres of activity with one language more than another, in such a

way that Moroccan-type activities (including religion) are associated with the speaking of (Moroccan) Arabic and activities to do with British life have come to be associated with the speaking of English. There is an important difference, however, between the Moroccan community in Edinburgh and Hungarians in Oberwart, or the Nahautl in Tlaxcala-Puebla: whereas the two latter communities seem to be large and well-established, the Moroccan community of Edinburgh is much smaller and only dates back to the 1960s. One might suspect that this would affect the extent to which Arabic and English have come to symbolise distinct, and, at times, opposing lifestyles in the minds of Moroccans in Edinburgh, since the members of a smaller and more recent community must feel closer to the majority society in which they live - and on which they rely, than members of large, well-established communities with strong identities and their own social institutions.

A smaller community such as that under consideration here is likely to face problems, however, which still serve to highlight its separate identity and to distinguish its members from the majority. ʿAbd el-Jawad (1986) has noted one role language can play in marking off one community from another: "Sometimes, opportunities for social and economic advancement are associated with membership of certain groups, especially in communities with minorities. In such communities, the minority group faces a difficult decision of whether to (a) gain social mobility by adopting the language patterns of the dominant group, or (b) maintain their group identity by retaining their native variety ... much depends on the relationship

between the minority group and society (degree of interaction and social acceptance)" (1986a:28).

Naturally, Moroccans in Edinburgh must learn English, the language of the dominant group, as a matter of necessity. However, they do face a problem similar to that described by ʿAbd el-Jawad above: namely, whether they should introduce English into the home as soon as possible, so that their children may have a good grasp of English from an early age and thus have a greater chance of performing successfully at school; or whether they should delay the use of English to ensure that their children become competent in the 'native variety': this last alternative would help to maintain 'group identity' but might jeopardise the child's success in school. The questionnaire made it clear that parents desired that their children should learn Moroccan Arabic and most of the children who helped me with my research were able to communicate in Arabic to some extent. Parents have also tended to be concerned with the children's progress at school and especially with the ability of young children to read and write English[44]. This conflict of interests which besets the parents is explicitly expressed; normally in minor arguments or discussions between the parents concerning the use of Arabic or English with their children, but also in complaints or observations to a

[44] Towards the end of my research, when funds began to run dry, one Moroccan family offered me free board and lodging, for an unrestricted period, on the condition that I help their two youngest children with their English.

third person, such as myself, about the language behaviour of other Moroccan families (excessive use of English at home is often viewed with disapprọval).

It would seem, therefore, that, amongst Moroccans in Edinburgh 'social and economic advancement' is, to a certain degree, in conflict with 'group identity', as Abd el-Jawad observed amongst other minority groups; and this conflict is itself not only symbolised by, but inextricably part of, the Arabic-English dichotomy. Somehow, even though a particular minority group may be well integrated into mainstream society, the fact remains that minorites consider themselves as being, and are often made to feel, distinct from the majority. This is especially true if the minority both speak another language apart from English and also practise a religion different to the established religion of the society in which they live. Moreover, the Moroccans have attitudes (clearly expressed during our recording sessions together), which probably differ from those of the majority of people here, and indeed the differing lifestyles of Moroccan and British society are, generally, a point of reference for such differences of opinion. One can only speculate on the *extent* to which these differences are associated with the use of one language or another; but, as has been remarked upon above, patterns of correlations between certain types of activities or topics and the use of a particular language have emerged in the

thinking of the first generation.

With this in mind it is possible to increase one's comprehension and appreciation of the following words of S.M. who is describing in what way old people are cared for in Britain and how this would be regarded in the Arab world:

(5) S.M.: *Wledha, bnetha, awledha ... katimši l- ...* [(WITH ALL) HER SONS, HER DAUGHTERS, HER CHILDREN ... SHE GOES TO ...] nursing home *... katimši l- ... lhosbitar ...* [SHE GOES TO - THE HOSPITAL ...] he look after it ... *ḥ:na ᶜandna ᶜayb! ... ḥ:na ᶜandna ᶜayb! ... makaynš! ... kayn sbitar ... lima f-ḥal lima lmra li maᶜandhaš oo r:aẓl li maᶜanduš ḥata ši li yqablu kayimši l-sbitar, huma yqablu taḥt tm:a ḥata ymut* [WE THINK THAT IS A BAD THING! (WITH US BAD!) ... WE THINK THAT IS A BAD THING! (WITH US BAD!) ... WE DON'T HAVE IT! (IT ISN'T THERE) ... THERE ARE HOSPITALS ... WHEN, FOR EXAMPLE, WHEN THE WOMAN WHO DOESN'T HAVE ANYTHING OR THE MAN WHO DOESN'T HAVE EVEN SOMEONE (SOMETHING) TO LOOK AFTER HIM, HE GOES TO THE HOSPITAL (AND) THEY LOOK AFTER (HIM) THERE UNTIL HE DIES]

It is immediately obvious that S.M. is comparing Arab or Moroccan society with life in Britain, and that, in her opinion, British life does not compare favourably in this case. However, her words gain extra and more subtle meaning by her switches to English: 'nursing home' and 'he look after it'. It does not seem coincidental that English is used at the point when 'English-' or 'British-type' society is mentioned, rather S.M. has engineered her switches, albeit unconsciously, to give maximum effect to her words. The way she chooses to express herself here reminds one of the 'we code' and 'they code' which Gumperz

(1977) wrote about: *ḥ:na ᶜandna ᶜayb! ḥ:na ᶜandna ᶜayb! makaynš!*, is an emphatic assertion of values contrary to that which has just been stated, but also effects an immediate 'transfer' to 'we' (*ḥ:na*) as opposed to 'they', (which is the implied subject of what preceeded); the contrast between 'they' and 'we' is made more stark by the switch from English to Arabic. The choice of the words 'nursing home' presumably evokes a certain association which a corresponding Arabic word, *malja'*, for example, would simply not convey and may, I think, be treated as being used in a metaphorical way rather than being a borrowing to which no special associations are intended to be attached. It is interesting too that S.M. distinguishes between *hosbitar* which is used to refer to establishments here and is almost identical to the word 'hospital', and *sbitar* which she uses in reference to her homeland; the difference in the two words must surely be symbolic, in her mind, of two distinct types of hospital. The same speaker also employed a similar strategy earlier on in the recording:

(6) S.M.: *lbint hina ... lbint hina f-lblad ... katuṣal f-ᶜamrha* [GIRLS HERE ... GIRLS HERE IN (THIS) COUNTRY .... REACH (IN AGE)] s- ... seventeen or eighteen ... *katimši taxud bit, katdir* boyfriend ... *katxurž maᶜh ... ḥ:na ᶜandna la!* [SHE GOES AND GETS A HOUSE, SHE HAS A BOYFRIEND ... SHE GOES OUT WITH HIM ... WE DON'T DO THAT! (WITH US NO!)]

As before a comparison is being made between the two societies (in this case with reference to relationships between unmarried people), and once again S.M. disapproves of the behaviour of people in British society. *ḥ:na*

ʿandna la! mirrors exactly *ḥ:na ʿandna ʿayb!* and serves the same purpose in that it distinguishes two groups of people, 'we' (*ḥ:na*) and 'they' (*hina f-lblad*), and emphasises a contradiction between two value-systems. The parallel between the two examples may be extended further, since once again S.M. has switched to English while she remarks on a British activity she dislikes: *'katdir* boyfriend' and '*katuṣal f- ʿamrha* ... seventeen or eighteen'. Perhaps by using English numbers S.M. means to convey an idea of the 'teenager', a concept which in this country now represents a distinct phase of a person's life, but for which there is no real equivalent in countries such as Morocco. The use of English for numbers will be mentioned again presently. S.M.'s choice of the word 'boyfriend' seems also to be specifically related to British culture: it is probably the only word available to S.M. and might, therefore, be counted as a borrowing[45].

Another speaker, Z.A., also seems to have a tendency to switch to English when making comparisons between life here and life in Morocco. The following example will illustrate this fairly well, but one can also see a difference of style in this example which clearly indicates that these are the words of another person:

(7) Z.A.: *wa law kakenit hinaya ... hinaya ydiwha sbitar, yiʿamluha* injection ... [AND IF IT HAD BEEN HERE ... HERE THEY (WOULD) TAKE HER TO HOSPITAL, GIVE HER (MAKE HER) AN INJECTION ...] and that's it! .. *wa* [AND]

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45 Borrowings will be discussed in chapter six.

injection *txasha katqayha* [SHE WOULD HAVE TO (HAS TO) DO IT] every two weeks and she get fixed ... you see? She no fix - she get er- ... how y- ... ho- ... *li kayqul(u) huma* [WHAT THEY SAY] you get er ... you feed her ... 'cos she have to do injection every two weeks for all hers life ... she turn a mental, *b-ḥaq ḥ:naya ʿandna Qurʾan!* ... [(BUT) IN TRUTH WE HAVE THE QUR'AN ...] better than 'jection better ... *yixar:z̄u* [IT GETS IT OUT] once! *wa intina - lḥamd l:eh! ʿandna Qurʾan, huwa duwa!* [AND YOU (ARE) - PRAISE BE TO GOD! WE HAVE THE QUR'AN, IT IS MEDICINE!]

The example shows that Z.A. mixes English and Arabic in a manner which was not characteristic of the speech of S.M. in the examples above; she used far more English than S.M. and often for lengthy stretches at a time.

However, there are similarities here between this and the other two examples. Again the comparison involves the distinction between 'we' (*ḥ:naya*) and 'they' (the implied subject of the two verbs at the beginning of the example). The assertion *b-ḥaq ḥ:naya ʿandna Qurʾan!* is strikingly similar to *ḥ:na ʿandna ʿayb!* and *ḥ:na ʿandna la!* in both its structural form and contrastive function. Z.A. had been talking about a cousin of hers in Morocco who had been possessed by a *jinn*; she and her daughter gave me a lengthy and rather excited account of how the *jinn* affected her cousin and what was done in the end to get rid of the *jinn*. Z.A. describes the girl under the influence of the *jinn*:

xasha [SHE NEEDED (NEEDS)] seven people! ... they canna' ... they canna' hold her ... *taqtilhum! sita, saba*ʿ, *taqtilhum! ... kay ʾan:a l ʿafrit li f-ha huwa li kiyxadimha!* [SHE WOULD KILL (KILLS) THEM! SIX, SEVEN, SHE WOULD KILL (KILLS) THEM! ... AS IF THE DEMON INSIDE HER

(HE) IS THE ONE WORKING (CONTROLLING) HER] ... *makatkl:imš welu, had mša! ... taḥ! lisan(h)a taḥ!* [SHE WAS NOT (IS NOT) SPEAKING AT ALL, THIS HAD (HAS) GONE! ... DOWN! HER TONGUE WAS DOWN!]

She then describes how the girl was cured:

tilt ayem ... kayqraw ʿalayha Qurʾan kul yawm, kul yawm ... oo hiya makantši mʾamna b-Qurʾan oo hazit lQurʾan ʿamlatu maʿaha fin ma mšet ... katimši bih ... katdur bih [FOR THREE DAYS .. THEY WERE (ARE) READING THE QUR'AN TO HER, EVERY DAY, EVERY DAY ... AND SHE DIDN'T BELIEVE IN THE QUR'AN AND SHE TOOK UP THE QUR'AN, TOOK IT (DID IT) WITH HER, WHEREVER SHE WENT SHE WENT (GOES) WITH IT ... WALK (WALKS) AROUND WITH IT] ... and the *jinn mša f-ḥalu* [WENT COMPLETELY]

The example under consideration above is taken from the very end of the description, and it seems as if Z.A. wishes to emphasise the tremendous power of the Qur'an in ridding the girl of the *jinn*, by making a comparison with the ineffectual or, rather, disastrous medical treatment which she would have received in the hospitals here. The use of English helps her to achieve this, both by relating her words more effectively to an 'English speaking environment' but also by creating a stark contrast, when, having built up her words to a climax, 'she turn a mental', she suddenly switches to Arabic to reaffirm the alternative and better solution: *b-ḥaq ḥ:naya ʿandna Qurʾan!* One notices too the use of the word 'injection', instead of its Moroccan Arabic equivalent *libra*: the use of the English word implies that injections, and the use of drugs which is associated with them, are seen by Z.A. to be largely a phenomenon of English speaking society (rather than Moroccan). Its use, together with the word 'fixed' and the idea of 'feeding', also conjures up dismal images of the girl, still possessed and on a life support-

system, in a British hospital for the rest of her life; and the idea of her complete mental breakdown is also, characteristically, expressed in English, 'she turn a mental'.

4.2.2 'Personalisation' and 'Objectivisation'

There are no simple rules by which one might always relate the use of a particular code to socially significant or metaphorical meanings, but there are certainly general patterns in code-switching which seem to make possible interesting and highly constructive analysis. Gumperz (1977) has drawn up a preliminary typology for switching to help him with his analysis of three distinct language situations and within which he looks at the idea of 'personalisation versus objectivisation'. In this connection he found that the 'we' and 'they' codes tended to represent personal involvement on the one hand and distance and objectivity on the other: this was partly based on his own analysis of examples of switching, but also upon the remarks of bilingual 'members'[46] themselves who were asked to consider a number of examples and to report on the way in which switching could affect a speaker's message. The choice of either the 'they code' or the 'we code' gave rise to a series of oppositions: in one example, "The shift to the 'we' code was seen as

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[46] By 'members' Gumperz means bilingual speakers who form their own special linguistic group.

signifying more of a personal appeal ... whereas the reverse shift suggests more of a warning or mild threat" (1977:28); in another example, the bilingual speakers " ... interpreted the shift to English [the 'they code'] as signalling that what was wanted was a casual reply rather than an indication of personal feelings" (ibid:29); and in his final example the members agreed that the "shift from Hindi ['we code'] to English ['they code'] signals ... a generally known fact and not merely personal opinion" (ibid). Gumperz concludes that these oppositions "can be seen as metaphoric extension of the we/they code opposition" (ibid:30).

At this point I will again consider the opposing values which are represented by Arabic and English, in an attempt to discover in what way Arabic and English, respectively, could possibly come to symbolise 'personalisation' and 'objectivisation'. Attention has already been drawn to the fact that the Moroccans in Edinburgh are a more recently established and smaller community than either the Hungarian or the Nahautl communities which were mentioned above: this would probably affect the extent to which the Moroccans regard themselves as a separate group with a strong identity, and this in turn is likely to affect the symbolic associations of Arabic and English and the extent to which these associations are felt to be distinct. However, it has also been shown that most likely the first

generation Moroccans not only have a special identity which differentiates them from majority society but, more specifically, they feel Arabic and English to symbolise distinct aspects of life associated with the two communities: for example, English would seem to symbolise a type of 'advancement', particularly in education, whilst Arabic is symbolic of the 'identity of the group'. The examples of metaphorical switching which have been given so far (items (5),(6) and (7)) also make it quite plain that at least some of the first generation not only identify with Morocco rather than Britain (which is symbolised by their use of 'we' as opposed to 'they') but also tend to switch code to reflect and exaggerate different aspects of the two societies they are discussing.

In an introduction to his study on metaphorical switching Gumperz describes the background of three groups of bilingual speakers who took part in his investigation, and talks about some of the attitudes members have to their two languages. In one group from Delhi the members are native speakers of Hindi who were all educated in English at secondary school level: in Northern India English is "the main symbol of urbanization and western technology" (1977:12) and Gumperz continues, "Until quite recently secondary and higher education were almost entirely in English" (ibid). Although Hindi is now replacing English for administration and business, English is still widely

used and, amongst many people such as students and intellectuals, "serves as a mark of sophistication" (ibid:13). In another language situation, Slovenian-German speakers in Austria "use Slovenian at home but they are educated in German" (ibid:11). German is also "the exclusive language of most business and work relations" (ibid) and is viewed as "the only official and literary language" (ibid:12). Similarly, in Gumperz's third group, that is Chicano-Spanish students in California, Chicano-Spanish is spoken at home but English is used often at work and with friends.

No doubt the speaking of the native tongue at home and the use of the acquired variety in most outside relations is characteristic of many bilingual minority communities, including Moroccans in Edinburgh (the chapter on Language Choice showed that most of my Moroccan respondents claim to speak mainly Moroccan Arabic at home and this is borne out by my own observations). There is a further parallel to be drawn between the Moroccan community in Edinburgh and the bilingual groups in Gumperz's study. Gumperz writes of the Slovenian-German speakers in Austria that, "although Slovenian continues to be spoken in most homes and is positively valued as a sign of village in-group solidarity, young people are encouraged to learn 'proper German' lest they have difficulty in school or employment" (ibid:12). This again reminds one of the situation of my Moroccan respondents in that social and economic

advancement seems to be somewhat at odds with the solidarity and identity of the group. The same parallel can be drawn with the Chicano-Spanish speakers: as Gumperz writes, "Spanish-speakers who entered the middle class felt obliged to assimilate to middle class American culture and this meant giving up one's ties to one's Spanish-speaking background" (ibid:13).

Despite differences in number and the fact that Moroccans in Edinburgh are a relatively recent community, a comparison between Gumperz's observations and my own findings reveals important similarities. Likewise the Hungarians in Austria and the Nahautl in Tlaxcala-Puebla, although differentiated from Moroccans in Edinburgh by virtue of being large and well-established communities, nevertheless also seem to exhibit some similar opposition associated with the use of one code or another. One must consider, however, the fact that a whole generation of Moroccans in Edinburgh were not brought up in Britain at all and came to this country after they had reached the age of twenty. These people, the first generation, can be compared, to some extent, to the Hindi-English speaking students in Delhi in that both groups were brought up in societies where education, barring primary-school level, was undertaken in a foreign language; moreover, in a previous chapter ("Language Attitudes"), it was suggested that French, the dominant and prestigious foreign language in Morocco, which is still widely used in schools and for

higher education there, at least partly surrendered its prestigious position to English in the minds of those Moroccans who emigrated to Britain.

Gumperz does not explain exactly how the 'we' and 'they' codes have come to symbolise 'personalisation' and 'objectivisation', but it is possible to draw one's own conclusions from descriptions of speakers' backgrounds and language attitudes, such as those detailed above. The idea of 'in-group solidarity' and 'home' evokes feelings of identity and intimacy, as opposed to the idea of 'work', 'education' and 'sophistication' with their associations with formality and social and economic power[47]. Gumperz sees bilingual groups as being able to transform and build upon "norms of language usage" (ibid:30) and "symbolic affirmations of ethnic boundaries" (ibid) to convey all sorts of additional meanings in speech which may be categorised broadly under the heading *personalisation versus objectivisation*.

One can see some similarity here with the metaphorical switching cited above; as with Gumperz's bilingual groups, Arabic is associated with home (including native homeland) and 'inside relations', whereas English is connected with

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47 One notes here similarities with the study of domains: Bentahila found that his bilingual respondents associated the 'informal' domain 'home' with the speaking of Moroccan Arabic, and the more 'formal' domains 'education' and 'work' tended to be connected more with the speaking of French.

'outside relations' and British society in general. The switches in items (5),(6) and (7) seem to exaggerate ideas associated with one society or another by the use of the relevant code, and in many cases the switch might be seen as being triggered by *topic*. These associations are taken a step further in the idea of 'personalisation versus objectivisation'. 'Topic' is not relevant here, it is the choice of a particular code *in itself* which signifies the speaker's intent. The association of a code with inside or outside relations is taken for granted since it is the connotations of the code itself which matter: the associations of Arabic and English with inside and outside relations can be thought of as giving rise to connotations of intimacy, informality, personal feelings on the one hand and distance, formality, objectivity on the other.

There are some examples in the corpus relevant to this idea which I would like to mention here; the code shift in these examples is examined in one direction only, and the overriding impression is that the speakers intended to gain authority or an air of 'factuality' by switching to English (apart from the last item which is an interesting example of personal involvement changing to objectivity).

(8) A.A.: *hedi, hedi* [THIS IS, THIS IS] important *taᶜ arafha* [(THAT) YOU KNOW IT]

(9) S.O.: *Ṣaraḥa yaᶜni* [HONESTLY YOU KNOW (THAT IS) IT IS] very sad *yaᶜni* [YOU KNOW (THAT IS)]

(10) S.O.: *Ṣaraḥa yaᶜni* [HONESTLY YOU KNOW (THAT IS)] it's no good .. no *miš mizyen* [NOT GOOD]

In all three items above the speakers are making a

statement (expressing their opinion): their words could be said to gain additional authority and emphasis by the insertion of English (the 'they code') at the critical or evaluative part of the statement. In the case of S.O. the switch to English in both her examples reaffirms *saraha* in establishing the sense of reality and truth, and in the last example the repetition in Arabic *mis mizyen* again reaffirms the importance of what she is saying.

I have also noted in the recordings the repeated use of English 'no' and 'yes', although *la* and *naᶜam*[48] are also used, of course.

(11) A minor argument between A.A. and Z.A.:

Z.A.: you talking in -
A.A.: *ka* - no! no! no!

A.A.: no! no! ... no! *baš tafham žamiᶜ lmoodaᶜ ... naḥna ... had lʾard ... ḥ:na kun:a mus(t)amarin matalan* ... [SO THAT SHE UNDERSTANDS ALL THE SUBJECT ... WE ... THIS COUNTRY ... WE WERE COLONIZED FOR EXAMPLE ...] yes *oo waḥid* ... [AND ONE ...][49]

(12) S.O.: responds to my question.

A.W.M.: *waš šufti lḥamraʾ ? al-ḥamraʾ lqalᶜa yaᶜni* [HAVE YOU SEEN THE ALHAMBRA? THE ALHAMBRA THE CASTLE THAT IS]

S.O.: no no no

(13) Z.A.: ah yeah *huwa jin:* [IT IS A JINN] oh yes ahah

(14) Z.A.: *ᶜaʾila kabira!* [A BIG FAMILY!] ... oh yes! ... thousands! er *ᶜandi ᶜaʾila kabira*

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48 Colloquial *aywa* ('yes') is also used.

49 A.A. sometimes omitted the phonemes /t/ /d/ and /z/ from his Moroccan Arabic speech.

b- zef [I HAVE A VERY BIG FAMILY]

The first example is possibly the most interesting here in that A.A. uses English 'no' to contradict Z.A., who has complained that he is not keeping to the subject, and also, it seems, in order to regain control of the conversation since Z.A. has interrupted him. The use of 'yes' a little further on seems to reaffirm that he *will* talk about the colonialization of Morocco whether Z.A. likes it or not. This use of English (the 'they code') in order to assert, or reassert, one's own opinion, and indeed one's own authority reminds one of an example Gumperz gives of a discussion in Slovenian-German, in which one speaker disputes another speaker's statement: the first speaker then "counters in German ['they code'], as if to lend his statement more authority" (1977:19). (It should be noted, however, that A.A. switches only for 'no' and not for the whole sentence: perhaps he feels that this is adequate since he has now regained control of the conversation). The other examples above may be explained in a similar way to items (8),(9) and (10); that is in all cases the speaker is either expressing his or her opinion or reaffirming a fact. Given that English does have connotations of objectivity and authority it is not surprising that it is sometimes used by respondents here since 'yes' and 'no' are, by their very nature, expressions of authority and fact.

In all the above examples ((8) to (14)) the effect of the

switches to English has been to emphasise the speaker's message. This is particularly evident in examples (11) and (14). In the last example (14) we note not only the switch to English 'oh yes' but also the emphatic 'thousands', the repetition of *ʿaʾila kabira*, and the final *b-zef*. The use of the English word 'thousands' calls for special consideration since it draws attention to switching for numbers. Gumperz mentions an example of switching in a Slovenian-German conversation where the speaker switches to German to talk about both the cost of repairs to farm machinery and the cost of oil: Gumperz writes, "Perhaps the shift to German gives the air of objective factuality to cost figures quoted" (1977:19). Although there are no examples of speech about cost in the present study there are, however, several points in the recordings where mention of numbers triggers a switch to English; the following are two examples of such switches:

(15) S.M.: *waḥid ʿandu flus f-lbank xariz̄ ... yḥasab s̄ḥal ʿandu, xariz̄ ʿalayha ... maʿarafs̄* [SOMEONE HAS MONEY IN THE BANK HE PAYS (PAID) ... HE COUNTS HOW MUCH HE HAS, HE PAYS (PAID) IT ... I DON'T KNOW] ten percent *oola* [OR] five percent

(16) S.M.: *oo kenu igulu xasum law z̄aw er* [AND THEY SAID THEY NEEDED TO COME (IF THEY CAME)] fifty percent ... *ikunu farḥanin b-zef ... taʿarafi s̄ḥal z̄aw? ... z̄aw* [THEY WOULD BE (ARE) VERY HAPPY ... DO YOU KNOW HOW MANY CAME? ... (THEY) CAME] ninety percent!

The 'objective factuality' which Gumperz writes about seems to imply some sensitivity on the part of the speaker towards the subject of expense and it seems, as if by using German, that is by switching to a more 'formal'

code, that the speaker may attach an appropriate degree of importance to what he says and, at the same time, keep his distance from what perhaps may be a delicate subject. The idea of 'delicacy' is not relevant to the examples above, yet it may be that some of my respondents (and especially S.M.) do attach a special importance to numbers and feel that English is more appropriate when they are mentioned. The importance attached to numbers would not here be due to the special context of 'cost', but rather to the associations of numbers themselves in the mind of a speaker.

It is interesting to note that S.M. has never been educated at school; she knows neither how to read nor write either in Arabic or English. She has shown herself, by her various comments, to be self conscious about both her 'uneducated', dialectal Arabic and her command of English which she maintains "she does not speak well". As far as numbers are concerned, apart from their association with mathematics and school in general which suggest *a priori* that S.M. might treat them in a special way, S.M., due to a lack of confidence rather than ability, has seemed less at ease with their use than the other members of her family[50]. It is possible to relate her slight uneasiness here with her shift to English in items (15) and (16), and with her switch before in item (6) above.

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50 This is my impression because I have witnessed her lack of self confidence on two or three occasions when she has counted aloud in my presence.

Since the use of English would imply a certain degree of objectivity, formality even, the switch to English for numbers almost suggests 'careful speech' or rather that S.M. is making a special effort. This is also suggested by her slight hesitation before her shift in items (6) and (16). The shift to English may be seen as a metaphorical shift in the sense that S.M. views numbers as an elusive and perhaps difficult concept for which a more 'formal' and 'objective' code is suitable. It is possible also in item 16 that S.M., by speaking of 'fifty percent' and 'ninety percent' is being influenced by the words of others. She is talking about how the parents and teachers in her children's local school decided to 'opt out' of local authority control in a bid to save the school from closure; the figures were obviously the subject of much discussion between herself, teachers and fellow parents since they offered proof of their commitment to keep the school open. The shift to English here, therefore, may also be related to the importance people attached to there figures. Similarly, the switch in item (4) may be a combination of both S.M.'s desire to exaggerate the idea of a British teenager as well as her slight hesitancy in using numbers.

Z.A.'s switch to English in item (14) may also indicate a special treatment of numbers; although Z.A. did attend school, she is not well-educated either, having only reached primary school level. In her description of the

girl possessed by the *jinn*, one notices too that the mention of number has triggered a switch to English: *'xasha* seven people they can na' they can na' hold her'. However, the shift to English for 'Oh yes! Thousands!' above is also likely to be emphatic, in that the English words are contrasted with the Arabic, and thus gain extra prominency.

The last example of speech to be mentioned here is an excellent instance of personalisation versus objectivisation:

(17) A.A. *a rasi! a rasi!* [OH MY HEAD! OH MY HEAD!] you need just somebody to cure you!

This may be explained by reference to another of Gumperz's examples in which a 'Chicano professional' frequently shifts from Spanish to English and vice versa whilst she talks about how she tried to cut down on smoking. Gumperz accounts for the Chicano speaker's alternate use of the two languages in the following way:

" ... the code contrast symbolises varying degrees of speaker involvement in the message. Spanish statements are personalized while English reflects more distance. The speaker seems to alternate between *talking about* her problem in English and *acting out* her problem through words in Spanish" (1977:20).

The last sentence in particular describes exactly the way A.A. is using Arabic and English above. 'You need just somebody to cure you!' is an objective appraisal of a situation and *a rasi! a rasi!* is indeed an 'acting out' of, and involvement in, a state. One notes too that the verbal subject moves significantly from the first person

to objective 'you'. In the first part of his utterance imagination and emotion inform the speaker's words, the effect being heightened by the use of an 'intimate' code; the succeeding lifting of emotion and transfer of attention to the second person is accompanied by a shift to a more formal and less personal code.

4.3 Emphasis

It has been noted, in many of the examples cited above, that 'emphasis' also has a role to play in code-switching and I feel that the importance of emphasis as one of the functions of code-switching merits separate attention here. In all the examples of metaphorical switching which have just been given it is possible to view much of the language shift (both to English and to Arabic) as giving part of the speaker's message additional prominence: this was mainly effected through the insertion of an English word or phrase within the Arabic sentence so that the contrasting codes threw into relief that which the speaker seemed to regard as especially important. Thus in items (8),(9) and (10) for instance, English is not only used metaphorically to give the speaker's statement an air of authority or objectivity, but at the same time it *highlights* the crucial part of the message; in this respect the switch to English serves a purpose similar to that of 'stress'. Likewise in two excerpts taken from the recording with S.M. (items (15) and (16)), in which

English also seems to have been used for metaphorical reasons the code-contrast which results from S.M.'s switch to English suggests too that the figures are *important* and deserve special attention. Conversely, Arabic words and phrases are juxtaposed with English to similar effect: Z.A.'s switch to Arabic in item (7) for example, *b-ḥaq ḥ:naya ʿandna Qurʾan!* comes immediately after the description, mainly in English, of the treatment given in British hospitals, the code-contrast helps to highlight the importance of this statement in addition to differentiating in a metaphorical way between British hospital treatment and the 'medicine' of the Qur'an. (One notes too that *b-ḥaq*, the first word in the switch to Arabic is, in itself, an emphatic prepositional phrase).

Most of the items of switching which have been analysed up till now have been included for their value as either situational or metaphorical examples of language usage; if emphasis has been mentioned in these examples then it has tended to be of incidental interest only. One exception to this was the instance of repetition given at the end of the section on situational switching, (item (4)) and which was included *primarily* to show how repetition in Arabic served to emphasise what A.A. was saying in English. There are so many examples in the data where emphasis plays a part that it is not difficult to find other instances where the switch has *primarily* the effect of emphasising the speaker's words rather than having a

metaphorical or situational purpose. The following excerpt further illustrates how *repetition* can combine with switching for emphatic effect (again the speaker is A.A.):

(18) A.A.: *ḥ:na mathalan nimsi duwal Islemiya ... makayᶜamlusi as li ken 'ulu ḥ:naya* [WE FOR EXAMPLE GO TO ISLAMIC COUNTRIES ... THEY DON'T DO WHAT WE SAY] as well ... they dinna ... they don't do it ... very few people to do it ..: they don't thinks they all they do it ... 'cos all greedy ... all ...*yaᶜni ṭmaᶜa yaᶜni* [THAT IS GREED THAT IS] greed *oo ṭmaᶜa ... ṭmaᶜa b-zef li'an:a* [AND GREED ... A LOT OF GREED BECAUSE] too greedy ... people ... *ḥ:na- ... ṭm:aᶜ* [WE GREEDY] too greedy ... *ṭm:aᶜ insen ṭm:aᶜ ... lflus* [GREEDY PEOPLE GREEDY ... MONEY] money, money, money, money

One notes here that repetition in the other code not only serves to emphasise, but also seems to be a strategy A.A. employs to protract what he is saying and thereby retain the attention of his audience for as long as possible. His message is simple: he has been to Muslim countries and seen people who do not practise Islam properly because they are 'too greedy'; yet because of his verbosity the message seems to lose much of its effect. Perhaps A.A. has emphasised *too much: ṭm:aᶜ* or *ṭmaᶜa* and 'greedy' or 'greed' are mentioned, alternately, ten times, and *flus* and 'money', half as many times again.

It should also be noted that repetition by itself plays an important part in A.A.'s communicative strategy, he not only repeats in one code what he says in another ('*makayᶜ amlusi* ... they don't do it', '*ṭm:aᶜ* ... greedy' and so forth) but repetition takes place within the *same* code.

In the above example A.A. says in English: 'they dinna ... they don't do it[51] ... very few people to do it ... they don't thinks they all they do it ...'. Later he switches to Arabic:

(19) A.A.: *'al n:abi ... 'al n:abi ṣ- ... nabi ṣal:a wa sal:am ... 'al matalan ... in:a n:ab(i) ṣal:a oo sal:am* [THE PROPHET SAID .. THE PROPHET SAID - ... (THE) PROPHET (GOD) BLESS (HIM) AND GRANT (HIM) SALVATION ... SAID FOR EXAMPLE ... TRULY THE PROPHET (GOD) BLESS (HIM) AND GRANT (HIM) SALVATION]

and further on in English is again used in an even more highly repetitive manner:

(20) A.A.: he don't want money ... he don't want money ... that's all the prophet ... he don't want money ... he don't want money ... he don't want a big 'ouses ... he don't want luxury life ... he don't want because he don't know because he he - because ...

In much of the tape-recording with A.A. repetition and code-switching feature prominently; the evidence of the data and what I have observed of his language behaviour in general suggest that A.A. wishes constantly to reinforce his message and expand his words as far as he is able: repetition, switching code and a combination of the two are, I think the main means by which he hopes to achieve this.

In the next example it is the *contrast* between Arabic and English which helps to emphasise the important parts of

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[51] There is a switch here from Scottish English 'dinna' to Standard English 'they don't ...'. This may possibly be for additional emphasis (through repetition), or may simply mean that A.A. deems Standard English to be more 'appropriate' in some way.

what another speaker is saying:

(21) Z.A.: *f-ṣbaḥ kul waḥid yīžiw er* [IN THE MORNING EVERYONE COMES] neighbours *yiduq:u, yidaxlu* [THEY KNOCK, THEY ENTER] very friendly *wa yiᶜadlu atay wa yiᶜawnuk wila kayn lᶜurs oola farḥ er kiyžiw* [AND THEY PREPARE TEA AND THEY HELP YOU IF THERE IS (THE) WEDDING OR PARTY ... THEY COME] no money *awla ḥata šī haža* [OR EVEN ANYTHING] just they sitting *wa yiᶜawnuk, ay:i haža ...* [AND THEY HELP YOU, ANYTHING] they cheer up you up they lift you they give you a hand they lift you they cheer up you up, they open *maḥlulin maftuḥin er hnaya* [OPEN OPEN ... HERE] different *kul waḥid (y)šid lbeb dyelum ...* [EVERYONE SHUTS THEIR DOOR] "go away!" *ḥ:na tm:a la! duq lbeb tdxul* [WE DON'T DO THAT THERE! (WE THERE NO!) KNOCK ON THE DOOR YOU ENTER] that's it! Like er ... *f-ḥal dar dyelu* [LIKE ONE'S HOME]

The speaker is Z.A. and, as with a previous example (item (7)), she is comparing life in Morocco with life in Britain. (This time with reference to the helpfulness and neighbourliness of the people). In the previous example (7), however, where Z.A. describes how hospital treatment would have adversely affected her cousin and a comparison is made with the healing power of the Qur'an, the effect of her comparative description was exxaggerated by a metaphorical use of Arabic and English; in other words she exploited the associations of the two languages with their respective language communities, in order to more sharply define the contrast between the two communities. In the case of this example which is analysed now, there is no question of a metaphorical use of language until almost the very end of the description, where Z.A. describes people in Britain shutting their doors on friends or neighbours and crying out 'go away!' - here Z.A. switches

to English for an imaginative quotation on behalf of an *English speaking* person. Apart from this the regular insertion of English words and phrases seems to be purely an emphatic device.

This proposition is supported by the fact that the additional English is by no means essential for understanding Z.A.'s message; in other words without the English insertions the Arabic could very well be understood on its own[52]. It is interesting to note too that the English additions contain all the basic information of the description and, with little alteration, would also be understood without reference to the Arabic, for example: 'neighbours ... very friendly ... no money ... just they sitting ... they cheer up you up they lift you they give you a hand they lift you they cheer up you up, they open (here) different ... "go away!" ... (there, you enter a home) that's it!' This perhaps indicates the extent to which Z.A. wishes to emphasise what she is saying; it almost seems as if the English supplies a 'running commentary' or some sort of parallel translation for the Arabic (or, indeed, vice versa)[53].

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[52] This is true with the possible exception of 'no money'. Also note that in item (7) the English words are essential for understanding Z.A.'s message.

[53] It may of course be that Z.A. supplies the English for my benefit so that I might understand correctly what she is saying. All that can be said here is that during this recording her daughter S.A. was also present and was actively participating in this description, which suggests that the English was not an explanation of the Arabic, directed solely to me.

In the following item of switching the English phrase itself is an emphatic one. It is possible that the speaker (Z.A. again), decided that English offered her the most expressive means for putting her point across:

(22) Z.A.: *niᶜamlu niᶜamlu* [WE MAKE WE MAKE] a Rangers and one!

Z.A. is talking about the enormous size of her family; it is so big that its members could form a whole football team (such as the Glasgow Rangers). A comparison such as this is a standard joke amongst some Arabic speakers and the question arises whether or not Z.A. has translated an Arabic joke into English. Although it is not impossible that English speakers also make a similar analogy I cannot recall the same joke having been made in English ('a cricket eleven' being the nearest that I can think of), and it does seem likely that Z.A. is using an expression she has heard other *Arabic* speakers employ (and has perhaps employed herself in Arabic). The switch to English may possibly be accounted for by Z.A.'s desire to create an emphatic effect with the contrasting code and perhaps by her view that English offered the more expressive, and indeed more humorous, means for describing the huge size of her family (even though the original joke was probably an Arabic one). As for this latter possibility, in naming a *Scottish* football team and switching to English Z.A. presumably wishes to render her joke more relevant to British culture and hence to increase the understanding and appreciation of her

interlocutor (myself), in an effort to enhance the humorous effect of her words (in this way the switch to English may also be seen as metaphorical). Moreover, the use of 'and one!' is interesting and is perhaps also a key to understanding why Z.A. code-switched. If Z.A. has taken the joke directly from the Arabic the emphatic addition 'and one!' is her 'loose' translation for *iḥtiyat* ('reserve') which is part of the Arabic saying: the idea in Arabic being that the members of the family number so many that there are not only enough for a football team, but for the reserve as well. A simple explanation for her saying 'and one!' may be that Z.A. either does not know or has perhaps forgotten the English word 'reserve'; but this does not explain why she should choose this particular English phrase. Another explanation is possible, which is that she has modelled the use of English 'and one' on a common, English, phrasal pattern; the same pattern which makes possible 'A Hundred and One Dalmations', for instance[54]. This emphatic device may either be interpreted in the same way as *iḥtiyat* would be in the Arabic joke (that is, 'there are enough for a team - and more!'), or it may be interpreted to mean that 'there are *certainly* enough for a whole team' (the idea of adding *one* in order to ensure that there are enough is probably the origin of 'the baker's dozen' (12 plus 1) and 'one for luck'). However this may be, it is not impossible that

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[54] One notes that the same idea is also to be found in Arabic: *Alf layla wa layla* ('A Thousand and One Nights').

Z.A. wished to take advantage of the emphatic function of this English idiom and switched code because the English phrase was the most expressive she could think of: the result is a somewhat unusual mixture of what appears to be a translated Arabic joke and an expressive English idiom (one notes that Z.A.'s use of 'and one' is inappropriate since there is no other number, such as 'one hundred', to which it can refer).

The possibility that another code might offer a speaker a more emphatic phrase for putting his or her message across has drawn my attention to other instances of code-switching in which a single word seems to have been specifically chosen for its 'expressive quality'. For instance Z.A.'s use of 'once!' in item (7):

(23) Z.A.: *yixar:z̄u* [IT GETS IT OUT] once! *wa intina lḥamd l:eh!* [AND YOU ARE - PRAISE BE TO GOD!]

The choice of the word 'once' gives the impression of finality and conciseness by virtue of being a single, monosyllabic word, and its position as a lone word in an Arabic sentence immediately gives it special significance[55]: Z.A. evidently means to contrast the complete and quick removal of a jinn by means of the Qur'an with the lingering treatment her cousin would have received in Britain 'for all hers life' (see item (7) above).

[55]Z.A. may also have in mind the phrase 'once and for all', in which the idea of finality is beyond doubt.

Perhaps L.O., who rarely switched to English during the recording, found the English word in the following example to be especially expressive:

(24) L.O.: *kayṣudfa ... yaʿni* [IT HAPPENS UNEXPECTEDLY ... THAT IS] surprise!

'Surprise' is, after all an *exclamation* whereas *kayṣudfa* is a *description* of something that is happening[56].

One might include too the following examples of switching as instances where the English word has been chosen for its particular 'expressive quality' and the additional emphasis it gives to the speaker's message:

(25) *fi katir yaʿni ʿandum er azwežhum* [THERE ARE MANY YOU KNOW (THAT IS) WHO HAVE HUSBANDS (WHO ARE)] er very stric(t)

(26) stric(t) Islam strict(t) ... *yaḥub:u iɣaṭiw* [THEY LIKE TO COVER (THEMSELVES)]

(27) *fi nes er* strict(t) [THERE ARE PEOPLE (WHO ARE)] very strict(t)

S.O. the speaker in all three examples just quoted, apparently finds the English word 'strict' to be more effective than any equivalent Arabic (-or English) terms, which may come to her mind. In this case 'strict' is articulated as /s̄trik/ (the final /t/ is dropped and /s/ becomes /s̄/; the effect is a short 'expressive' sound largely due to the particularly emphatic consonantal cluster at the beginning of the word (/s̄tr/). Perhaps the

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56 Strangely, Arabic is used here objectively, whereas English is used in a way which suggests personal involvement. Such an expressive word as 'surprise!' seems to override the idea that Arabic is associated with 'personal involvement' whereas English has connotations of objectivity.

speaker thinks that by using this word she gains some additional emphasis which a corresponding Arabic term would not be able to offer her. S.O., and others amongst my respondents, often had a particularly emphatic way of speaking: this was mainly revealed through their articulation, tone of voice and sometimes the choice of words used during conversation with them. Furthermore, the emphatic use of language is mirrored in facial expressions. One example from the tape-recordings with S.O. comes to mind in this connection:

(28) *yaʿni ʿayb taxruž b-lqufṭan yaʿni kul: yaʿni* [THAT IS IT IS WRONG TO GO OUT IN (A) KAFTAN YOU KNOW (THAT IS) EVERYTHING (IS) YOU KNOW (THAT IS)] gold *aw kul: ytaxar:ža f-š:ariʿ* [AND EVERYTHING IS OUT (SHOWING) IN THE STREET]

S.O. is expressing how inappropriate and wrong it would be to walk in the streets in a kaftan because your finery would be on show for everyone to see. She lays particular stress on 'gold', the code-switched word in the example for which she prolongs the vowel /o/: it was perhaps just as much her facial expression when she said this, as her articulation and the tone of disapproval in which it was uttered that marked the word for me as being especially significant. It is impossible, however, to say whether English was used here because S.O. found 'gold' to be more expressive than, say, Arabic *dahab* or whether there was some other reason why she switched to English. One might also say the same of the previous examples: for instance S.O. may have said /štrik/, or L.O. have used English 'surprise!' so that I, an English-speaker, might better

understand what was being said. It is probable that at least some bilingual speakers find a particular word in one language to be sometimes more 'effective' than a word with a similar meaning in their other language, and the perceived 'expressive quality' of a particular word might therefore be one reason for switching code. Yet it would be difficult to analyse this phenomenon with any degree of accuracy without systematic and complex analysis of bilingual speakers' attitudes to a whole range of words and communicative contexts; in addition, one would have to define more exactly what the 'expressive quality' of each word actually is. All that can be said here on this subject, and with particular reference to S.O., is based on my own observations of S.O.'s general communicative behaviour. It is perhaps worthwhile describing briefly one final instance of S.O.'s behaviour in this connection which will illustrate her, at times, highly expressive manner of getting her message across.

One day, after our recording sessions had finished, I went to visit S.O. and our conversation turned to the subject of Mauritania and a married couple from that country whom S.O. had once met. Since we had been talking in English for some time S.O. continued speaking English whilst she described the appearance of the couple: the gist of her description was a comparison between the wife's dark complexion and the husband's much fairer skin. What I remember most about her description is the combination of

facial expression, tone of voice and articulation with which S.O. exaggerated the contrasting appearances of the husband and wife. The words 'black', or 'really black', were used two or three times in the description of the wife, the consonantal cluster at the beginning of this word /bl/ gaining extra force by S.O.'s prolonged articulation of /l/; and the whole description of the colour of the woman's skin was accompanied by an expression of earnestness on S.O.'s face and a knitting of her eyebrows which was accentuated further at each mention of the word 'black', amounting at that time to almost a scowl. When S.O. then described for me the husband, the difference in her communicative manner was striking. Her face relaxed into a smile and she described the man's 'pale' complexion in gentle, light tones, quite different to her half angry tone of a moment before.

This example of S.O.'s highly emphatic manner of communicating is not only interesting as evidence of some of her opinions but also suggests that S.O. has considerable sensitivity to emphatic expression: it is for this reason that I think it would not be impossible if she were sometimes to choose words for the 'expressive value' she considers them to possess, at the same time as she takes advantage of the terms that are available to her from both Arabic and English,

4.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I have looked at the phenomenon of 'code-switching'. I have tried to define what I understand by code-switching and have discussed, with relevant examples, situational and metaphorical switching (as two distinct forms of code-switching). I have concentrated particularly on metaphorical switching since I found this to be especially appropriate for the present study. I also related the use of Arabic and English by first generation Moroccans, to a 'we-they' dichotomy, in which Arabic seemed to be associated more with family life and life in Morocco, and English more with external relations and British culture/society; this idea was then developed in a discussion about 'personalisation and objectivisation' where the associations of each code gave the actual use of the codes connotations of intimacy (Arabic) and distance (English). Finally, I have discussed how code-switching can bring additional emphasis to a speaker's words, particularly by means of repetition and by the contrast involved in the juxtaposition of the two codes.

Chapter Five

Linguistic Aspects of Code-Switching

5.0 Introduction

In the previous chapter on metaphorical and situational switching I have attempted to study the way in which some of the Moroccans in Edinburgh convey meaning through switching code, by taking into account various extralinguistic factors which may be considered to act upon each speaker. It has been shown in the literature that although not every instance of code-switching can be found to be meaningful - or rather, although 'simple rules' relating code-use to meaning via extralinguistic factors have not always been sufficient to explain some types of code-switching - sociolinguists recognize many common patterns in this phenomenon, which seem to suggest that there are not only language (or bilingual) specific 'usage norms' (Gumperz (1977:8)) but also that there are some similarities within code-switching between bilingual groups generally. Fasold, for example, writes of 'High' and 'Low' languages:

"... using the High language means the speaker is invoking the values and status of the wider community; choosing the Low language similarly calls up the cultural patterns of the small community. It is possible, however, to find similarities in detail in how the general principle is applied", (1984:203).

His examples show how the High language is used in a manner which has "striking parallels in widely separated

speech communities around the world" (ibid: 203): that is "to make an utterance more authoritative... to give the 'point' or reason for telling a story that had been narrated mostly in the Low language and ... to impress a child with the seriousness of a command" (ibid); (writers such as Gumperz (1977), Hill and Hill (1980) and Gal (1979) have found some, or all, of this to be true for the bilingual speech communities with which they have dealt). Gumperz, too, as has already been mentioned in the previous chapter, has drawn up a 'preliminary typology' of code-switching which holds across the separate language situations which he studied (1977:14-20).

In a similar way, the linguistic or syntactic investigation into code-switching also seems to have elicited patterns of 'productive use' common to some, if not all, studies of different language communities. Scholars have demonstrated through their studies of particular bilingual groups that there are certain surface structure constraints to switching[57]: Timm (1975), for instance, in an investigation into Spanish-English code-switching amongst Mexican-American bilinguals finds that the "pronominal systems remain distinct ... subject and object pronouns do not occur in bilingual constructions with verbs" (1975:481); Gumperz (1977) also considers that "pronoun-verb sequences are more unitary than noun-verb

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[57] 'Surface constraints' as opposed to constraints which might be impressed by 'deep structure'.

sequences" (1977:26), and Eid (1992) writes of "the general constraint against switching between pronouns and their verbs" (1992:62) and that it is "assumed in the literature that this restriction is true of code-switching in general" (ibid:60). I shall look at such constraints on switching presently with reference to my own study; it might be mentioned here, however, that there have been various other surface constraints postulated in the literature which are not so generally applicable. Bentahila and Davies (1983) find a number of "specific and seemingly unrelated constraints" (1983:305) to have been listed in the literature which they consider to be "extremely ad hoc and ... strangely arbitrary" (ibid). They did find, though, in connection with Arabic-French code-switching in Morocco that there is some restriction on switching between the pronoun and its verb; presumably pronouns and their verbs belong to those types of constituents which, as they say, "are bound together in such a way that switching is impossible within or between them:" (ibid:306). Such constituent types are one factor which they expect to constrain switching at certain boundaries; the other main factor they look at is the difference in the grammatical structure of the languages involved where a constraint on switching might also be expected (ibid).

Although Bentahila and Davies do not deny that switching is sometimes blocked because of grammatical differences,

their data reveal a number of examples where switching takes place regardless: thus their data include examples such as '*ʒa* le contrôle' '*came* the checking time' where the French word order, subject verb is overriden by the word order verb subject which is possible in the Arabic. Additionally they cite examples where a French adjective precedes an Arabic noun (which is impossible in Arabic where the adjective always follows the noun): for example, '*c'est une pauvre* bint', '*she is a poor* girl' (ibid:319). There are instances of switching too involving other types of grammatical non-equivalence; for example, in the definite noun phrase, 'dak lwarqa *bleue*', with the intended meaning, 'that *blue* paper', but literally translated as 'that the paper *blue*' (ibid:320), where the French adjective is not accompanied by the definite article although in Arabic this is obligatory if the adjective modifies a definite noun. An instance of the reverse is also given: '*les immeubles* lxri:n', '*the apartment blocks* the other'; here the Arabic adjective *is* accompanied by the definite article despite the fact that a French adjective would not require it. Lastly they found switches were possible, at least from French to Arabic, within relative clauses, where the relative pronoun was omitted: '*ily a des quartiers* bna:whum ʒdad', '*there are some districts* they have built new (which they have newly built)' (ibid:360). Although this pronoun is obligatory in French it is not always required by the Arabic.

Bentahila and Davies show by examples such as these that linguistic constaints on switching revealed by other research are not necessarily applicable to their particular study of Arabic-French code-switching. Sankoff and Poplack (1981), for example, postulate the 'equivalence constraint' as a "general linguistic constraint on where switching may occur", (1981:5): that is: "the order of sentence constituents immediately adjacent to and on both sides of the switch point must be grammatical with respect to both languages involved simultaneously" (1981:5);

as the first two examples above show, Bentahila and Davies demonstrated that this was not true for their Arabic-French bilinguals in Morocco. Instead of regarding grammatical non-equivalence as a categorical constraint on switching Bentahila and Davies modify this by stating that: "in structures exhibiting switching as elsewhere, all items must be used in accordance with their own language -particular subcategorisation restrictions" (1983:301)[58]: thus the switch to Arabic in the following would be deemed unacceptable: '*cette* lxubza', '*this* the loaf', because the French determiner '*cette*' is subcategorised as always immediately preceding the noun; it is never accompanied by the definite article which

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58 'Subcategorisation' is defined as "The specification, usually by a set of rules, of what kind of items may represent a class or category in a particular environment, e.g. when a transitive verb (but not an intransitive verb) must occur together with a noun-object." R R K Hartmann and F C Stork (1972:223-224)

would be required after the Arabic determiner, '*dak*'.

There are then, perhaps, two major lines of inquiry that can be made when first examining the 'syntax' of code-switching' that is, the way in which switching seems to be blocked at certain grammatically *unified* boundaries within an utterance, (this also includes the boundaries between some morphemes in a single word), and the action of certain subcategorisation restrictions on particular items.

Scholars have further demonstrated that the languages involved in code-switching have different roles to play. Bentahila and Davies (1983) gained the impression that their speakers resorted to Arabic rather than French for

> "grammatical items or function words, such as determiners, pronouns, prepositions and conjunctions ... and also for the kinds of parenthetical clause used as fillers or discourse markers" (1983:326-7).

French, however, was often used "for lexical items, particularly for nouns" (ibid:327), when speaking mainly Arabic. This additional factor in the linguistic analysis of code-switching has been regarded as part of the 'asymmetry' of the languages concerned (Joshi (1985), for example, incorporates the idea of 'asymmetry' into a 'switching rule' in his endeavour to develop a more "formal or computational framework" for the study of code-switching (1985:190)). Eid has also studied this phenomenon which formed the basis for her study of "directionality in Arabic-English code-switching" (1992),

in which she stated that "English was found to be more restrictive with respect to switching than Arabic" (1992:67). The different roles two languages might play in code-switching are seen to be related both to their *grammatical differences* (I shall return to this point presently) and to the *grammatical dominance* of one language over another; Eid sees Arabic to be grammatically more dominant than English since it is the first learned language of her respondents, and suggests that this may be one way of accounting for the restrictions on switching from English:

"A restriction on switching after a specific type of signal indicated that the linguistic system signalled is grammatically subordinate in this case to the other system" (ibid:56), (see Bentahila and Davies (1983:329)).

Part of Eid's study is also concerned with 'pronoun doubling' which involves a switch to English after an Arabic subject pronoun; because the pronoun is repeated again in English, however, the unity of the pronoun-verb construction remains intact, as in the following example that she gives: "ya^{c}ni ana (meaning I) I was really lucky" (1992:59). Eid found that 'directionality' was particularly relevant here, since in her data pronoun doubling always occurred from Arabic to English; she explained this by looking at the *grammatical differences* between the two languages. The English verb together with its subject pronoun could be compared grammatically with the Arabic verb it replaced, since the Arabic verb is inflected for gender, number and person and may appear on its own without being accompanied by a subject pronoun (or

subject nominal)[59]. When the Arabic subject pronoun does appear with the Arabic verb Eid suggests that "the agreement of the verb can itself be considered a doubled pronominal clitic" (ibid:61), that is the information on gender, number and person supplied by the subject pronoun is doubled by the information that is provided by the verb. It is possible therefore that "this pattern is being carried into the code-switching mode of communication" (ibid): that the pronoun doubling (Arabic to English) echoes the doubling implied by an Arabic verb accompanied by its subject pronoun. Bentahila and Davies, in the same way, also noted that pronoun doubling only occurred after an Arabic, rather than a French, subject pronoun (1983:313). They too referred to the grammatical differences between the two languages but suggested that since the Arabic verb does not require an overt subject, the Arabic subject pronoun might be regarded as "functionally parallel to the French disjunctive pronouns (moi, toi, etc.) rather than to the clitics (je, tu, etc.)" (1983:312), which would explain why switching occurred at this point, that is between the Arabic pronoun and the French verb accompanied by its clitic.

Eid writes (1992:65) that there are only two instances of pronoun doubling reported in the literature and that

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59 The English verb is never inflected for gender and does not always mark number and person, this information is therefore supplied by its subject pronoun or subject nominal.

Arabic is involved in both cases: pronoun doubling has been discussed in her own work on Arabic-English code-switching, and also in the study carried out by Bentahila and Davies on Arabic-French code-switching, which has just been mentioned. There are instances of *verb* doubling, however, which have also been cited in the literature and which do not involve Arabic. Eid gives an example from Japanese-English code-switching, which seems to be motivated by the necessity to preserve the syntactic integrity of both languages by combining the SOV[60] word order (Japanese) and the SVO word order (English) to create sentences with SVOV word order (see Eid (1992:66)). This, and other reports of verb doubling, suggests to Eid that pronoun doubling might be part of a "more general 'doubling' phenomenon that occurs in code-switching" (ibid).

Examples of pronoun doubling occur in the data which I collected for the present study, and here Arabic is involved once again. I shall be looking at some of these examples in due course, so that I can compare how pronoun-doubling is used by some of my respondents with those findings cited in the work of Eid, and Bentahila and Davies. It might be remarked here, however, that there are instances in the data (supported by general observations of the way in which Moroccan Arabic is spoken) which demonstrate that the doubling of the

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[60] Subject, object, verb.

subject, (nominal subject followed by subject pronoun), is practised extensively by my respondents when speaking solely in Arabic; this suggested that one might explain the phenomenon of 'pronoun doubling' in conversational code-switching by looking at a pattern which is already a prominent feature of spoken Arabic as Eid hints at above. But if this is correct it throws some doubt upon Eid's suggestion that 'pronoun doubling' is an instance of a larger 'doubling' phenomenon within code-switching as a whole.

Before analysing the data I would like to say a word about my respondents themselves and whether extralinguistic factors might affect the linguistic constraint on switching code. It may be because the study of code-switching is a relatively recent phenomenon that not much attention has been paid to the speakers themselves when the main objective is to discover some kind of 'syntax' which will explain how bilinguals alternate from one language to another in such a way that communication with another bilingual person is not seriously impeded. One might speculate, however, that not only could regional dialect differences affect linguistic usage rules employed in switching, but also that a person's level of education and indeed his social background might also have an important role to play. Extralinguistic factors such as these would be interesting to consider in so far as the grammatical differences implied by regional and social

dialects would affect linguistic constraints on switching. Eid too hints at similar factors when looking for an explanation for differences in language roles and in 'language directionality' itself across code-switching situations as a whole: differences in 'directionality' were observed between "code-switching situations involving typologically similar languages" (1992:64). Eid looks at the possibility, (although she does not expand on this) that it is in the people themselves, rather than in language type, that an explanation lies and she refers to the economic and educational backgrounds of people and the size and uniformity of the bilingual group.

Furthermore, with reference to my own study my impressions, on my first analysis of the data, were that switching code was by no means practised to an equal degree by all respondents. Use of the code-switching style seemed to depend more on the individual, rather than being the common linguistic behaviour of the group; thus the recording of respondent A.A., in particular, but also those of Z.A., S.A. and S.O., produced a considerable amount of data on this phenomenon, whereas the remainder of the recordings did not. There are one or two points that might be made in this connection. Firstly, although there were differences in the extent to which people code-switched this does not necessarily imply that the *linguistic constraints* on switching also differed. Secondly, the recording sessions of the four bilinguals

above were not, on the whole, distinguished from the other recording sessions in any particular way, which would suggest that the increase in code-switching was not due to differences in how individual recordings were carried out. The identity of the speakers, however, might very well be relevant since respondents A.A., Z.A. and S.A. are all members of the same family; although members of other families do code-switch, code-switching may be characteristic of this family in particular. The position of A.A., Z.A. and S.A. within the Moroccan community is interesting since they seem, as a family, to be very much on the periphery: this is mainly caused by a five year long family squabble between Z.A. and her two sisters-in-law (S.O. and her sister), which traces its origin back to their respective families in Morocco. The family of Z.A. is differentiated further from the other Moroccans in the community by the fact that, despite the parents' poor education, two of the children have university degrees and the youngest also intends to gain further academic qualifications. The significance of this family's comparative isolation from the rest of the Moroccans is that it might explain differences in their linguistic behaviour, especially regarding the extent to which code-switching is characteristic of their mode of communication. The reason why they should code-switch to such an extent, however, remains unclear. As for S.O. she also used a considerable amount of English during the recording, which may be part of her individual linguistic

style. I also noted that the manner in which she switched code was quite distinct from the other three: large portions of her speech were almost totally conducted in Arabic (except for some words or phrases); when a switch to English was made she likewise produced, on several occasions, sizeable portions of speech mostly from English. The recordings of Z.A., A.A. and S.A, on the other hand, were characterised by rapid alternation from one language to the other, (this is especially true of A.A.), *as well as* portions of speech in which not much alternation occurred, (S.A., particularly, produced fairly lengthy portions totally in English)[61].

5.1. The Analysis of the Data

5.1.1. Switching at a 'major syntactic boundary'

Eid writes that "studies of code-switching have shown that switching is more common and, in a sense, less constrained at major syntactic boundaries than it is between small constituents"(1992:53). She looks at switching at the major syntactic boundaries of four clauses: coordinate, subordinate, relative and complement. Since switching is less constrained at these boundaries they might be considered as being grammatically less unified than other types of boundary, (such as that between the pronoun and its verb). The results of Eid's study show, however, that

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[61] This is probably due to the fact that S.A. is a second generation Moroccan and her first language is English.

the boundaries of some of the clauses she examines are more restrictive with respect to switching than those of other types of clause; thus, "switching in relative clauses is much more restricted than in subordinate or coordinate clauses" (ibid:57), whereas "switching in complement clause structures turns out to be the most restricted" (ibid:59). Switching at the boundaries of the four clauses, coordinate, subordinate, relative and complement, occurred in the corpus for the present study too, and it is interesting to compare Eid's results with the results that I obtained, (the following examples are taken from the speech of the first generation unless otherwise stated).

5.1.1.1 Coordinate Clauses

Switching occurred at the following boundaries in the speech of my respondents.

Switching before the marker:

(29) S.O.: *Muslim er yṣali* [A MUSLIM PRAYS] and er and he be very close to Allah

(30) Z.A.: Special things sweet er *wa hada mš̄a wa hada ž̄a* [AND THIS (ONE) WENT AND THIS (ONE) CAME]

Switching after the marker:

(31) A.A.: *yimkin ɣada ymutu wa* [PERHAPS TOMORROW THEY DIE AND] who's knows?

(32) S.O.: *n:us lawal* [THE FIRST HALF] in the front and *nus l-lwara'* [HALF TO THE BACK]

Switching on either side of the marker:

(33) Z.A.: he's the father for every poor aw [OR] handicap

(34) F.M.: *isantu l-ldin aya din lIslam* [THEY LISTEN TO RELIGION EITHER THE RELIGION OF ISLAM] or er *ḥata l- er s̄nu ngul:ik* [EVEN TO -WHAT SHALL I SAY] - Christian (second generation)[62]

At first sight switching does not seem to be restricted either before or after a coordinate marker; yet Eid reports that for her data switching was restricted after the conjunction if the conjunction was from English. Although it cannot be assumed that Eid's results for Egyptians in America will accord entirely with my own findings for the Moroccans in Edinburgh, (and it would therefore be unwise to interpret my data solely in the light of Eid's own observations), it is intersting to note that example (32) above was the only instance of switching after the English conjunction, (coordinate marker) that I found in the data for the first generation, and it may be possible, therefore, that switching is certainly more constrained after an English conjunction than it is after an Arabic one; (although this would not be a categorical restriction)[63]. As for example (34) in which F.M. switches back to Arabic after the English conjunction 'or', it might be explained by the fact that F.M. is a second generation Moroccan, (which probably has implications for the grammatical dominance of one language (English) over the other (Arabic); in addition F.M.'s evident hesitation after the English marker may be an

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62 Note 'ldin' ('the religion'); 'd:in' is the correct form in Moroccan Arabic where the doubling of /d/ replaces definite article /l/.

63 It is noteworthy that switching occurred several times after the *Arabic* conjunction.

indication that he did in fact intend to continue in English after the marker, but changed his mind, (one notes that he does eventually resort to English for the word 'Christian' since he cannot think of the Moroccan Arabic equivalent)[64].

5.1.1.2 Subordinate Clauses

The same boundaries which applied to coordinate clauses also apply to subordinate clauses:

Switching before the marker:

(35) Z.A.: you get on with them better than the others *ʿala ḥasab er xalqu tm:a aw trab:aw f-ydum* [THEY WERE BORN THERE AND BROUGHT UP BY THEM]

(36) Z.A.: *kenqra'ɲ Qur'an* [WE READ THE QUR'AN] 'cos that will push them away

Switching after the marker:

(37) Z.A.: *kanʾamin Mḥam:ad* [I BELIEVE IN MUHAMMAD] he's my prophet but *kanʾamin sidna ʿIsa* [I BELIEVE IN OUR MASTER JESUS]

(38) A.A.: *kiytsma huwa muzrim liʾan:a* [HE IS CALLED A CRIMINAL BECAUSE] they don't -

Switching on either side of the marker:

(39) A.A.: he's no stranger *liʾan:a* [BECAUSE] like your home

Once again Eid found that no switching occurred after the English marker and she concluded that for subordinate clauses, as for coordinate clauses, switching is restricted at this boundary. As for my own data, example

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64 There were no other examples from the recordings of the second generation of switching either before or after a coordinate marker.

(37) above shows that it is possible for switching to occur here, but this is the only example of such a switch yielded by the data. Switching at this boundary may be somewhat restricted then for my Moroccan bilinguals too, but it should be pointed out that switching after the *Arabic* marker only occurred three times in the data, and that switching at the boundaries of subordinate clauses, in general, was by no means so common as it was for coordinate clauses[65]; this may mean that the scarcity of examples of switching after the English subordinate marker may possibly be due to an insufficient quantity of data rather than a tendency for switching to be constrained at this boundary.

5.1.1.3 Relative Clauses

Perhaps the same problem regarding the quantity of data is relevant to relative clauses: the data yielded only two examples of switching at the boundaries of this type of clause, in which the relative pronoun was present, and in both examples the switch occurs before the English relative pronoun:

(40) B.M.: *tiyʾamanu b-l:ah l:ah waḥid* [THEY BELIEVE IN GOD ONE GOD] which mean the God

(41) R.M.: *ʿali waḥid dar* [ABOUT A HOUSE] that's possessed (second generation)

Nevertheless, although instances of this type of switching

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65 This is probably because subordinate clauses occur less frequently in conversation than coordinate clauses.

in the data are rare it is perhaps significant that in both instances where it does occur the switch takes place only *before* the relative pronoun; Eid's results were the same: switching occurred only before the (English or Arabic) relative pronoun. This is why Eid found switching in relative clauses to be more constrained than in coordinate or subordinate clauses.

It is also worth mentioning here an instance of switching at the boundary of a relative clause, where no relative pronoun was present. Again the switch is made from Arabic to English:

(42) A.A.: *med:a* [MONEY] he can afford

In a clause such as the above it is quite possible in English, and necessary in Arabic (since *med:a* is indefinite) for the speaker to omit the relative pronoun at this boundary. In Arabic, however, a pronoun referring back to *med:a* must be present as the object of the main verb, at the end of the phrase, for example: *med:a yaqdar ya^{c}tiha* (lit: 'money he can give it'); where /-ha/ is the attached pronoun. The object pronoun in this position is, however, unacceptable in English[66]. This grammatical non-equivalence of English and Arabic in the case of the relative clause may help to explain why switching seems to be more constrained in relative clauses, than it is in

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66 This would suggest that it is an English rather than an Arabic relative pronoun that is missing from item (42), since the object pronoun one would expect after the Arabic marker does not occur.

coordinate or subordinate clauses. Bentahila and Davies (1983) do, however, cite one example they found in their data where a switch to English occurs *after* the Moroccan Arabic relative pronoun *l:i* ('which'). It is interesting to note than when they tested to see in what way people would judge hypothetical examples in which the switch came *after* the relative pronoun, they discovered that although switching after Arabic *l:i* was thought to be acceptable, this was not the case when the switch was reversed and the relative pronoun was taken from French. One notes here a similarity with the restriction on switching after the English, but not the Arabic, marker in coordinate and subordinate clauses above.

5.1.1.4 Complement Clauses

Eid looks at those complement clauses which are introduced either by English 'that' or by Arabic *in:*, and these are the types of clause that shall be examined here. As with relative clauses, the data produced only a few instances of switching at the boundaries of this type of clause; it may be for this reason, therefore, that I only found instances of switching after the complementiser (complement marker) and not before it, although Eid declared that "in complement clauses ... switching before the marker is unrestricted" (1992:59):

(43) A.A.: we believe that *hina riz'* [HERE (IS) SUSTENANCE]

(44) A.A.: *ḥ:na kanʾamanu b-an:a* [WE BELIEVE THAT] if you

come a rich you are to be a rich

Furthermore, Eid found no instances of switching after the complementiser in her data, (ibid). This is odd considering that these were the only types of switch within the complement clause which my data produced. As far as switching after the Arabic complementiser is concerned she does not attribute the lack of examples in her data to a constraint on switching at this position; rather, it appears, that in her particular study the complementiser *inn* always appeared with an Arabic clitic pronoun (for example, *inn-i*, 'that-I') which intervened between the complementiser and the switch point. It is the absence of the English conjunction 'that' in *any* code-switched examples which causes her some surprise. In the examples she gives where the switch occurs immediately before the English complement clause this marker is optional in both English and Arabic, and she remarks that its absence "suggests that an English *that*-clause can be a complement to an Arabic verb only if the complementiser is not used" (1992:58). The fact that no switching at all occurred before the *that*-clause in my own study does not contradict this suggestion. Moreover, item (43) demonstrates that neither is there any categorical restriction on switching *after* the English complementiser 'that' in Arabic-English code-switching generally.

5.1.1.5 Discussion

Firstly, for my Moroccan bilinguals at least, there does not seem to be any categorical restriction on switching either before or after the Arabic or English conjunction in both coordinate and subordinate clauses. Bentahila and Davies (1983) also show that switching was practised by their Arabic-French bilinguals at these boundaries[67]. As I have noted Eid considers switching at the boundaries of coordinate and subordinate clauses to be unrestricted except after the English conjunction, because no examples of such a switch occurred in her data. Although it is possible that switching after the English coordinate/subordinate marker may be constrained for particular groups of speakers, such as those who took part in Eid's study, the fact that instances of switching in this position were present in my data shows that this is not a general restriction for all groups of Arabic-English speakers; however, one might conclude that when Eid's study and my own are compared, instead of any absolute restriction on switching at this point, there appears to be a *tendency* for switching at such a position not to occur. In the case of switching within the subordinate clause if the data for the present study had been more copious perhaps the results would have shown more clearly differences in the frequency of switching after the Arabic and the English subordinate marker, it is clear, however, that switching after the subordinate marker generally is,

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[67] Except after the Arabic marker in the subordinate clause which they do not mention.

for my respondents, less common than before it.

Similar remarks concerning the frequency of switching seem to apply to switching at the boundaries of the relative clause. My own results accord with those of Eid and show that switching is possible before the relative pronoun, but no instances of switching after the relative pronoun were found either in my own data or in Eid's data; this would seem to imply that switching only takes place before the relative marker (Arabic or English). Yet Bentahila and Davies, as I mentioned before, report that in their study switching once occurred after the Arabic, although not the French, relative pronoun, and hypothetical examples of similar switches were judged to be acceptable by their respondents. This suggests that Arabic-English bilinguals might switch after the Arabic, if not the English, relative pronoun too. Perhaps the frequency of switching is, once again, more relevant here than categorical constraints: thus one might say that there is a strong *tendency* for switching to occur before rather than after the marker in the relative clause.

The pattern that emerges so far in my analysis of the data (as in Eid's study) is that in subordinate and relative clauses there appears to be some restriction on switching after the marker, but not so much before it, (this also seems to apply to the English marker in the coordinate clause). This implies that the boundary between the

marker and the clause it introduces may be more *unitary* than the boundary between the first clause and the marker[68]. A similar pattern also emerges in those instances of switching within the complement clause structure which Eid found in her data; in fact Eid's data produced only examples of switching before the Arabic complementiser. Eid concludes that, compared to the other three clauses, switching within the complement clause is most restricted. Yet this conclusion seems to contradict her previous statement: "in complement clauses, as in the other structures examined, switching before the marker is unrestricted" (1992:59); and in "the absence of switching after the Arabic complementiser is attributed to pronoun doubling, not to constraints on switching at this position" (ibid). Moreover, these two statements may be compared with what she writes about switching within the relative clause:

"In relative clauses ... switching occurs only before the relative clause. Switching within the clause at the position immediately after the relative marker does not occur, regardless of the language from which the relative marker is drawn" (1992:57).

These conclusions indicate that switching is more

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68 The term 'first clause' is used here to refer to the *main clause* in subordinate and relative clause constructions, and, in coordinate clauses, to the clause uttered first by the speaker. It is noteworthy that switching after the marker seems to be generally more restricted in the subordinate and relative clause constructions, than it is in coordinate clauses, and there may be a possible connection between this and the fact that the first two types of construction involve a main clause and a subordinate clause, whereas in the latter construction the two clauses before and after the conjunction are both main clauses.

restricted within the relative clause than it is in the complement clause.

Eid's comments make more sense if one differentiates between theoretical general constraints on switching and the constraints that actually operated in Eid's particular study. As I have already noted Eid sees no reason why switching should not, theoretically, occur after the Arabic marker in the complement clause, only in her data a clitic pronoun attached to the marker always came immediately before the switch point, (thus the switch never occurred immediately after the marker). As for switching before the English marker Eid argues that this may only occur where the optional marker is not present but is rather 'understood'; examples of switching in which no marker appeared in the clause thus showed the switch at the boundary of the Arabic verb and the English complement clause. Eid, however, has restricted her own study somewhat by only considering examples in which the marker is present and switching takes place either before or after it; this would account for why she does not include those instances where the switch did occur before the English complement clause, but without the marker. Apparently it is because of these restrictions on switching both before the English marker and after the Arabic marker, together with the fact that her data yielded no examples of a switch after the English marker, that Eid treats switching within complement clause

structures as being more constrained than in any of the other clauses which she examines.·

As far as my own study is concerned, however, switching seems to be less restricted in the complement clause construction than in the relative clause construction, (whether one includes instances where the marker is absent or not): thus I found instances of switching after both the Arabic complementiser (note the marker *b-an:a* in item (44) has no clitic pronoun attached), and the English complementiser 'that'. In the case of the relative clause, however, switching only occurred in my data after the English marker. As for the·work on code-switching carried out by Bentahila and Davies (1983) it was also demonstrated that Arabic-French bilinguals switched both before and after the Arabic complementiser *b-an:a*, and after the French *que* (1983:310). A comparison of the three studies which have just been cited reveals that there seem to be no categorical constraints on switching within complement clause structures for Arabic-English and Arabic-French bilingual speakers generally, except possibly before the English/French complement marker. In practice, however, switching immediately after the Arabic complement marker is not possible if this marker is accompanied by a clitic pronoun.

5.1.2 Switching Between the Subject and its Predicate

My data show that switching after the subject was most common when the verb was omitted: in the following examples the verb 'is' is not required by the Arabic, although in an English sentence its presence would certainly have been necessary, (it is therefore suggested that Arabic is grammatically dominant in these examples):

(45) A.A.: *lmnafi' huwa* [THE HYPOCRITE HE (IS)] worse than the person alcholic

(46) A.A.: *huwa* [HE (IS)] just a *bin Adim* [SON OF ADAM (HUMAN BEING)]

(47) Z.A.: *lʿaʾila dyel er dyeli ana zama* [THE FAMILY OF-ER OF ME (MY) THAT IS (IS)] very friendly

(48) Z.A.: *hadik* [THIS (IS)] only for the parties

(49) R.M.: *waḥid minum* [ONE OF THEM] programmed to protect *waḥid diri syir* [A SMALL BOY] (second generation)

What I first noticed about these examples, and the other similar instances that occurred in the data, was that the switch only takes place from Arabic to English. This suggested to me that the implied copula in Arabic is *latent* in the subject of the sentence as opposed to the predicate, since the subject in each of these sentences is taken from Arabic.

Switching did also occur between the subject and its verb:

(50) S.O.: his shoulders *waqaʿt kida* [FELL LIKE THIS]

(51) Z.A.: and the jin| *mša f-ḥalu* [WENT STRAIGHT AWAY]

(52) A.A.: a time *kiygu(z) - yaʿni wa' t kiygu(z) b-suraʿa* [PASSES - IT MEANS TIME PASSES QUICKLY]

In item (51) jin| is assumed to be the English loan word, and not Arabic jin:. Also in item (52) although A.A. does not finish the first sentence, a switch has nevertheless

taken place between 'time' and *kiygu(z)*.

The English verb 'is' also appeared after an Arabic word, for example:

(53) S.O.: *šayṭan* is - you know what *šayṭan* it mean?

(54) S.O.: *jin:* is devil

These examples are exceptions, however: no switch occurred because an English explanation is being offered for a quoted Arabic word. The following is a similar instance:

(55) S.A.: *kiskis* is *suksu* [i.e. COUSCOUS] (second generation)

This is not considered to be an instance of switching between the subject and the verb for the same reason given above. One may note though that in this example both the subject noun *kiskis* and the complement of the verb *suksu* are from the Arabic, but they still appear in an English grammatical construction; an explanation for this may be that, because S.A. is a second generation Moroccan, for her, English grammar is more dominant than Arabic.

There are, however, instances of switching at this boundary too, but in these cases a clause intervenes between the subject and the verb 'is':

(56) R.M.: oo *deba* Terminator *baš (yi)qtil*[69] *diri yiqtilhu* [AND NOW (THE) TERMINATOR TO KILL (THE) BOY KILL HIM] is more advanced (second generation)

(57) A.A.: *huwa haža kiyšufha b-ᶜaynu oo makaybɣišši yaᶜni*

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69 It was a characteristic of the speech of the second generation that parts of words were omitted, especially, as in this case, present tense prefixes.

[HE WHO SEES SOMETHING WITH HIS EYE(S) AND DOES NOT WANT IT MEANS (TO)] help *makaybyiši yiᶜawin* [DOES NOT WANT (TO) HELP] justice is very bad

(58) S.O.: *Mḥam:ad rasul l:ah ṣal:a l:ahu ᶜalayhi* [MUHAMMAD (IS?) THE MESSENGER OF GOD, GOD BLESS HIM] is the messenger

In item (56) 'Terminator' may probably be counted as a borrowing into Arabic, rather than an instance of code-switching; if 'Terminator' were to be treated as a code-switch, however, switching would not have taken place between the subject and predicate because *baš (yi)qtil diri yiqtilhu* is only an adjectival clause, describing the subject. Item (57), at first sight, seems to present a problem because the English word 'justice' has perhaps triggered the switch to English. However, since 'justice' is part of the relative clause which *describes* the subject this does not, after all, alter the fact that a switch has indeed occurred between the subject (*huwa*) and the predicate ('is very bad'), and this English word can therefore be disregarded for the present. There is a problem though with item (58): whether the English phrase 'is the messenger' can be considered the predicate or not depends on how one translates *Mḥam:ad rasul l:ah*. The Arabic phrase may either be translated at 'Muhammad, the Messenger of God', (the subject) which would mean that switching does take place between the subject and its predicate: 'is the messenger', or the Arabic phrase is taken to mean 'Muhammad *is* the Messenger of God' which contains the predicate already, and which would mean that the English phrase 'is the messenger' is really an

explanation, and what S.O. meant to say was: 'which means the messenger', (this is more likely because 'messenger' translates *rasul*). In this latter case a code-switch has not taken place between the subject and the predicate.

Supposing for now that there is no problem with (58), the three examples which have just been cited are particularly interesting because in all three the subject, ('Terminator', *huwa* and *Muhamːad*) has been qualified. Gumperz (1977), who has also dealt with switching in subject-predicate constructions writes that "On the whole the longer the noun the more natural the switch" (1977:24), thus he found switching was judged to be acceptable after a subject such as 'my uncle Sam from San Jose', but odd after 'my uncle' or 'that one' and totally unacceptable after 'he' (ibid). As was mentioned before not only Gumperz, but other people too, have found switching between the pronoun and its verb to be impossible (see Timm (1975) and Eid (1992)). Gumperz's comment about 'longer nouns' is also interesting since it would suggest that single Arabic nouns, (which are not treated as borrowings) would not normally occur with an English verb, unless, as in items (53),(54) and (55), they are *quoted* as part of an English explanation of their meaning, in which case a switch between the subject and the predicate can not properly be said to have occurred. This may be one reason why switching between the subject and predicate seems to be more usual when the verb is not

present (ie.; when the Arabic copula is understood). In addition, Gumperz's observation gives special significance to items (50), (51) and (52) in which the English subject was either accompanied by the possessive ('his shoulders' (50)) or by an article ('the jin' (51) and 'a time' (52)), and did not appear on its own. There are no other examples in the data involving a switch between the subject nominal and its verb and it appears that, as far as this study is concerned, Gumperz is right to conclude therefore that switching will take place more readily after more complicated subjects rather than a single word, (although this does not mean that switching is necessarily precluded at this point). Item (57) is worth examining again in this connection. What has taken place here is actually a switch between a pronoun (*huwa* ('he')) and its verb ('is'), which would normally be unacceptable, but because the pronoun is separated from its verb by a rather lengthy relative clause such a switch becomes possible.

Strangely, there is one example involving a switch after a subject pronoun in the data:

(59) S.M.: *yinfaq ʿalayhim* [HE PROVIDES FOR THEM] mean he ... *yaʿtihum* [HE GIVES (TO) THEM]

It is useful to refer to Bentahila and Davies (1983) here. They write that:

"The structural disjointedness of some utterances involving switching ... could be attributed to the changes of structure which characterise spontaneous speech rather than taken to imply that the syntactic rules for code-switching allow such fusions of structure" (1983:308).

The hesitation after the pronoun ('he') may, therefore,

indicate that S.M. intended to continue in English, but decided instead to speak in Arabic: this seems to be a plausible explanation, and is also in keeping with what has been written in the literature about switching after the subject pronoun generally. It is also worth mentioning the absence of an Arabic pronoun before *ya^{c}tihum*, this is not unusual since a clitic pronoun is supplied by the verb; had the switch occurred from Arabic to English, however, an English pronoun would probably have been inserted before the English verb. This brings us to the phenomenon of *pronoun doubling*.

5.1.3 'Pronoun Doubling'

Eid describes 'pronoun doubling' as the "doubling of subject pronouns" (1992:59); it is a useful strategy by which speakers may switch between a pronoun and its verb without violating the unity of the pronoun/verb boundary. As I mentioned in the introduction to this chapter she has noted that pronoun doubling seems to occur in her study only when an Arabic pronoun is followed by an English pronoun, but not the other way round, (this, she suggests, is due to the grammatical differences between the two languages). I found this to be true for my Arabic-English respondents as well, (except for one instance which I shall deal with later), and my data produced instances of pronoun doubling similar to those cited by Eid:

(60) A.A.: *hada s̄i kemil ḥ:na* [THIS THING COMPLETELY WE] we believe that

(61) Z.A.: *huwa* [HE] he look after them

(62) S.A.: *ʿawd huma* [THEN THEY] they look after him (second generation)

According to Eid 'doubling' does not occur when the subject is nominal; that is, an Arabic nominal is not doubled by an English pronoun. She writes that switching is possible between nominal subjects and their verbs, and, therefore, the doubling of the pronoun after the nominal is not necessary (1992:61-2). In the present study the data produced examples contrary to Eid's findings, the following items being instances of switching between a nominal and a pronoun:

(63) A.A.: *rab:i* [MY LORD] they showed him the secret

(64) A.A.: *b-ḥa' l:ah taʿala* [IN TRUTH GOD MAY HE BE EXALTED] - these people was a special people - *rab:i* [MY LORD] they sh- *rab:i* [MY LORD] they show him

(65) S.A.: *dek lʿayla* [THAT GIRL] she's very intelligent (second generation)

The items (63) and (64) above need some explanation though. In both of these examples A.A. refers to *rab:i* ('my lord' ie. God) by English 'they', although the third person singular 'he' would be the appropriate pronoun. This is explained by the fact that A.A. is not totally bilingual in English, and mistakes such as confusing the English pronouns in this way often occur in his speech. Such an interpretation is also in keeping with the context since A.A. was describing the Prophet Muhammad (63), and the prophets in general (64), to whom God had showed 'the secret'. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that in item (64) the subject is actually repeated three times: 'they'

reiterates the subject *rab:i* and *rab:i* refers back to *l:ah*. The English utterance though ('these people was a special people') comes between *l:ah* and *rab:i* and has probably interrupted A.A.'s flow of thoughts, which explains his repetition here, (*rab:i* repeating *l:ah*). It is also worth mentioning that these three items may all be considered to emphasise the subject: the subject is first stated in Arabic and then repeated by the pronoun in English, (note too *b-ḥa(q)*, the emphatic exclamation ('in truth'), in the second example (64), and *dek*, the demonstrative pronoun ('that') in the last example (65)). This emphatic function of doubling the subject is important to note as reference will be made to it later on.

I also found one example where switching appears to take place between a pronoun and a nominal:

(66) S.O.: *baš̄ hum* [BUT THEY] Major's no making it any better

The first point one may make here is that a nominal subject *following* the pronoun which refers to it never normally occurs in Arabic or English; moreover, nor were there any other instances of such a switch in my data, or among the examples given in other work I have read on code-switching (for instance, Eid (1992), Bentahila and Davies (1983), Timm (1975) and Gumperz (1977)). For a simple explanation for the above sentence one can again refer to the observation made by Bentahila and Davies concerning the 'structural disjointedness' of spontaneous

speech; evidently S.O. has simply changed subject in mid-sentence.

Eid's stipulation that an English pronoun cannot be followed by an Arabic pronoun seems to apply also to switching between a nominal and pronoun here; however, there were two examples in my data which seem to contradict this:

(67) A.A.: people *ḥ:na ṭm:aᶜ* [WE ARE GREEDY]

(68) A.A.: secret *huwa sir* [IT IS SECRET]

When I examined the two items above I noticed firstly that they were taken from the same speaker (A.A.); perhaps then these are examples of one speaker's whimsical linguistic behaviour, (in both examples, however, an English nominal is followed by an Arabic pronoun which suggests there may be some sort of pattern). When item (68) was examined further, however, there did appear to be a possible explanation for it; A.A. is giving the Arabic meaning for an English word and thus, as in items (53), (54) and (55) above, this is not counted as an instance of code-switching. As for item (67), perhaps A.A. has changed the subject of the sentence and the doubling of the subject has not taken place after all. It is noted that *ḥ:na* ('we') is not the Arabic pronoun one would expect after people; *huma* ('they') being more appropriate. However, this explanation is not totally satisfactory since A.A. does often confuse the English pronouns as I have mentioned before. Alternatively, one might argue that

this example shows that switching to an Arabic pronoun after the English nominal is possible (albeit rare), and that 'people' is used emphatically here.

There are two remarks to be made at this point, Firstly, the fact that an Arabic nominal subject may be doubled by an English pronominal subject suggests that Eid's 'pronoun doubling' may be part of a rather larger doubling phenomenon which is *not* (contrary to her proposal) found more generally within code-switching as a whole. Furthermore, since Eid maintains that switching between the Arabic nominal and the English verb is also possible (1992:60), (which has also been noted in this study in the previous section), the doubling of the Arabic nominal with an English pronoun cannot simply be explained, therefore, by a restriction on switching between the nominal subject and its verb. There appears to be some other motivation for what one might provisionally call 'subject doubling' here.

Although the last example, item (68) is not considered to be an instance of code-switching, it does involve doubling of the subject, for *huwa* ('he') repeats the subject 'secret'. This is a very common pattern in Arabic and one which my respondents used extensively, for example, in the reverse situation, when explaining to me the meaning of *Arabic* words and phrases:

(69) A.A.: the *sir huwa* [SECRET IT (IS)] secret

(70) S.O.: *male'ika huma* [ANGELS THEY (ARE)] fairies

(71) B.O.: *xalik huwa* [YOUR UNCLE HE (IS)] your uncle (second generation)

(72) S.A.: *lxiya hiya* [BLEACH IT (IS)] bleach (second generation)

Other instances of this stylistic pattern also occur such as:
(73) A.A.: *lmnafi(q) huwa* [THE HYPOCRITE HE (IS)] worse than the person alcoholic

(74) Z.A.: *msta^{c}mara hiya* [COLONISED IT (IS)] very good term that word

In all six cases above the switch to English does not occur until after the pronoun; there are also instances, of course, where no switch to English takes place at all, such as in the following example, (which is one of many):

(75) S.O.: *lIslam huwa ya^{c}ni lazim t:ṣali xamsa marat f-lyawm* [ISLAM IT MEANS IT (IS) NECESSARY (THAT) YOU PRAY FIVE TIMES A DAY]

Here the pronoun *huwa* reiterates the subject *Islam* and, grammatically, this instance is similar to the other examples above (items (69)-(74)). The point of mentioning these examples involving 'subject doubling' is ultimitely to show that 'pronoun-doubling' may be influenced partly by a common linguistic pattern already in Arabic itself. Before dealing with 'pronoun doubling', however, I shall compare item (75) above with an example such as item (63), where the switch occurred between the subject nominal and the subject pronoun: '*rab:i* [MY LORD] they showed him the secret'.

The two sentences are similar in as far as *rab:i* may be compared with *Islam* (both are nominal subjects), and

'they' may be compared with *huwa* (both are pronominal subjects). Furthermore, in both of these examples the addition of the pronoun lends emphasis to the nominal subject, that is, the nominal subjects in the two examples are emphatic. It is possible, therefore, that motivation for the doubling of the subject in an example such as (63), is at least partly due to an emphatic doubling pattern characteristic of Arabic. Eid, on the other hand, concentrates on the kind of doubling which is implied by an Arabic verb accompanied by its subject pronoun (since the Arabic verb always has a clitic pronoun), and remarks how this pattern seems to be echoed in, and therefore provides the explanation for, the pronoun doubling which takes place in code-switching. One might argue, therefore, in accordance with Eid's explanation for pronoun doubling that in item (63), for example, 'they showed' also replaces the Arabic verb with its clitic pronoun and that this is simply a doubling pattern similar to that implied by Eid's pronoun doubling above. Eid's argument seems to depend on the fact that switching between a pronoun and its verb is normally impossible as well as the fact that the English pronoun replaces the clitic pronoun in the Arabic verb. However, as I have already pointed out, since Eid's study and my own data show that switching to English also occurs between the Arabic nominal subject and its verb without any additional English pronoun, the motivation for the doubled subject (ie. the subject nominal followed by the subject pronoun)

cannot simply be due to a restriction on switching at this point; the only other explanation I can think of is that it is due to the common emphatic *doubling pattern* existing in Arabic, as I mentioned above[70].

Now the doubling of the subject pronoun in an utterance such as (62) can be compared with an example where the switch occurs between a nominal subject and a pronominal subject, such as item (63), that is: '*ʿawd huma* [THEN THEY] they look after him' and '*rab:i* [MY LORD] they showed him the secret'. Thus *huma* may be compared with *rab:i* (both are Arabic subjects) and 'they' may be compared with 'they' (both are doubling English pronouns). Furthermore, *huma* and *rab:i* are both emphatic since the doubling English pronoun emphasises the Arabic pronominal or nominal subject, (as I have already noted for item (63))[71].

It seems then that, ultimately, pronoun doubling can at least be *compared* with a common emphatic doubling pattern

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70 This pattern seems even to have influenced the following English utterance made by Z.A.: "sescurity (sic), he's the father for every poor *aw* [OR] handicap", in which the pronoun 'he' repeats the nominal 'sescurity' ('security').

71 The remarks of Bentahila and Davies are interesting here: as I have already noted in the introduction, they suggested that the Arabic pronoun in Arabic-French pronoun doubling can be thought of as being akin to the French (emphatic) disjunctive pronouns (*moi, toi,* etc.) rather than to the clitic pronouns (*je, tu,* etc.) (1983:312). In the case of example (62) above *ʿawd* ('then') also helps to emphasise *huma*

found in Arabic, yet it is difficult to draw definite conclusions. Eid's suggestion seems highly likely that the repetition of the subject pronoun in English allows the speaker effectively to switch between a pronoun and its verb, and simultaneously she provides an account for the single direction of the switch from Arabic to English. However, her argument does not offer an explanation for the instances of code-switching between the nominal subject and pronominal subject which I found in my data. Perhaps one needs to offer then either one explanation which will account for both pronoun doubling and those cases in which the subject nominal is followed by the subject pronominal, or to treat these phenomena separately, and offer separate explanations for each. I tentatively suggest that the answer may lie in a *combination* of these approaches: pronoun doubling does indeed provide a way in which a switch between the pronoun and its verb might be made, but it is also psycholinguistically rooted, in the sense that it allows the speaker to reproduce an emphatic pattern similar to that which he commonly employs in Arabic. As for the other type of doubling, Eid discounted the possibility that the nominal subject might be doubled by the pronominal subject because it did not seem necessary (switching between the Arabic nominal and the verb did not need an intervening English pronoun), but the presence of this type of doubling in my data suggests that the same psycholinguistic motivation is operative here too.

Finally Eid suggests that 'pronoun doubling' "is an instance of a more general 'doubling' phenomenon that occurs in code-switching", (1992:66). Presumably she means that the motivation for'pronoun doubling' amongst her bilinguals is similar to the motivation for other types of doubling used by bilingual speakers of other languages. Thus the doubling of the verb by Japanese-English speakers, (Eid, (1992:66), see also the introduction to this chapter), might be compared to the pronoun doubling employed by Arabic-English speakers in so far as in each case the speaker may thereby avoid transgressing the linguistic constraints that apply to his particular two languages. If I am correct in my suggestion that psycholinguistic considerations, (with regard to the speaker's desire .to reproduce a common Arabic pattern in the code-switched sentences), also play a role in the motivation for pronoun doubling, then the matter is not quite so straightforward as Eid seems to suggest. The different factors which may influence the doubling of the subject pronoun would make a comparison between 'pronoun doubling' and other types of doubling within code-switching problematic.

5.1.4 Other Types of Doubling

There are just a few examples which might be worth mentioning here. The next two items show possible tendencies for switching not to occur between the adverb

'how' or *kayf* and the following verb, (unfortunately neither of the two items are complete sentences):

(76) F.M.: *xasum yiᶜarfu kayfeš* [THEY HAVE TO KNOW HOW] er how to rephrase how to - (second generation)

(77) A.A.: *makayᶜarfuši* [THEY DO NOT KNOW] how *yaᶜni* [IT MEANS] how they judge the - how *yaᶜni kayf* - [IT MEANS HOW]

F.M. (a second generation Moroccan) did not seem to be able to finish what he was saying in Arabic and so he had to continue in English. It is interesting that the English adverb 'how' reiterates the Arabic adverb *kayfeš*, this suggests that the Arabic adverb followed by an English verb would have been unacceptable. Item (77) is less useful for analysis because one does not know how A.A. would have continued after *kayf*. One might speculate though that an Arabic verb would have been used, (eg. *yiḥakmu* ('they judge'), in which case *kayf* intervenes between the English adverb 'how' and the Arabic verb, in a similar way to item (76), but being an instance of the reverse situation.

Other cases of a similar type of repetition include the following:

(78) A.A.: just like er - how you call it? *f-ḥal rażl* [LIKE A MAN] ki - kill the person

(79) A.A.: we are *aḥna zama Muslimin* [WE ARE THAT IS MUSLIMS]

In both of these instances of code-switching the speaker feels he has to repeat the English words he has just spoken: in example (78) perhaps he feels that an Arabic noun is not appropriate directly after English 'just

like', which is why he uses *f-ḥal* ('how you call it' can be considered parenthetical here); also in item (79) 'we are' is repeated by *ḥ:na* ('we') (the copula verb 'are' being implied), perhaps A.A. felt that the Arabic word *Muslimin* was not an appropriate complement to English 'we are'.

This phenomenon where people reiterate certain words in the code-switched utterance may be part of a strategy they employ which enables them to switch smoothly from one language to another without violating any linguistic constraints on code-switching. This would be similar to the kind of 'doubling phenomenon' within code-switching generally, which was suggested by Eid. The difference between the doubling exemplified in the above items ((76)-(79)) and 'pronoun doubling' (which I suggested might be problematic if treated as part of a more general 'doubling phenomenon' within code-switching) is that the motive for pronoun doubling may be influenced by doubling patterns already in Arabic, but there are no corresponding patterns in Arabic for any of the instances which have just been mentioned, ((76)-(79)).

One may also remark that of the four examples cited above, in three cases the switch takes place from English to Arabic; and that in each of these three instances the speaker is a member of the first generation. Furthermore, in the one instance where the switch occurs the other way

round, the speaker is a second generation Moroccan. One reason for the code-switch in these examples may be that the speaker had trouble finishing what he was saying. As I have already suggested, F.M. in example (76) did not seem able to express what he wanted to say in Arabic and therefore switched to his dominant language English. Similarly, A.A. in items (77) and (79) appeared unable to find the English words for what he wanted to say and therefore turned to Arabic, his first language. Apart from item (79), in which A.A.'s motive for switching is unclear, (it is possible though that A.A. felt that Arabic was more appropriate for expressing his religious identity), the code-switching in these examples seems to be motivated for a pragmatic reason, rather than for any other reason. Similar factors seem to have motivated the switch in the next example:

(80) Z.A.: my husband well he he he *huwa li xadam ʿalihum*
[HE (IS) THE ONE WHO WORKED FOR THEM]

Eid, as I have noted, reports that pronoun doubling does not take place from English to Arabic, (1992:60), but the above example demonstrates that such a switch may take place after all. As with F.M. in example (76) and A.A. in examples (77) and (78), Z.A. evidently switched here because she was better able to express herself in her first language, that is, Arabic, (one notes here her hesitation after 'he'). The difference between this example and an instance in which the pronoun doubling occurs the other way round, from Arabic to English, lies in the difference between the English and Arabic pronouns:

in example (62) *''ᶜawd huma* they look after him', *huma* lends emphasis to the subject; in this example above (80) the English pronoun 'he' is a clitic pronoun which has no emphatic function. The repetition of the pronoun (or pronoun doubling) in this example too then, seems to be a strategy by which Z.A. may ease the transition from one language to another and avoid violating the constraint prohibiting switching between the pronoun and its verb, and might, therefore, also be compared to other such doubling strategies practised within code-switching as a whole.

5.1.5 Switching After a Topic

So far in this chapter I have dealt with switching at the boundaries of certain types of clause, switching between the subject and its predicate and various types of doubling phenomena. There are a few interesting examples in my data, also concerning switching after the subject, which I have not discussed but which I think ought to be mentioned. The term 'subject' is actually misleading here and it may be better to describe the switch as taking place after the 'topic'; the following examples will make clear why this is so:

(81) R.M.: *s̄i mawdaᶜat f-Maɣarib* [SOME PLACES IN MOROCCO] I don't like the poverty like (second generation)

(82) Z.A.: economic *had d:awla* [OF THIS COUNTRY] what do you think about it?

(83) Z.A.: *lḥayet dyelum huma* [THEIR LIFE] they no freedom a lot like Tangier

In these examples the Arabic phrase[72] at the beginning of each item is not actually the grammatical subject of the sentence, although one might think at first that it will be and this is why I prefer to refer to this part as the 'topic', about which the respondent wishes to say something. In the first two items ((81) and (82)) the English utterance following the Arabic phrase is either a comment on the Arabic phrase (81) or asks a question about it (82); in item (83), however, Z.A. does not explicitly refer to *lḥayet dyelum huma* ('their life') again. Nevertheless the three examples might be thought to be similar in that the switch to English always occurs immediately after the topic has been introduced. Switching at this point turned out to be fairly common amongst my respondents.

5.1.6 Switching Between the Verb and its Object

There were a number of instances in which switching took place between the verb and the object of the verb. At this position switching took place both after the English verb (items (84) and (85) below), and after the Arabic verb (items (86), (87) and (88) below), for example:

(84) R.M.: *waḥid minum* [ONE OF THEM (IS)] programmed to protect *waḥid diri syir* [A SMALL BOY] (second generation)

(85) S.A.: if they have *ma yaḥtāzu bāsi ... hum (y)ḥijju* [WHAT THEY NEED IN ORDER ... (THAT) THEY MAKE THE HAJJ]

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[72] In item (82) the English word 'economic' does not affect the fact that, grammatically the phrase 'economic *had d:awla*' is in Arabic.

(second generation)

(86) S.A.: *kiy ʿamlu* [THEY DO] the same thing all the time (second generation)

(87) Z.A.: *ʿawdli Samia* [REPEAT TO ME SAMIA] story what happened
(88) A.A.: *kiyžbar* [HE FINDS] everything ready

Items (84) and (85) were the only examples in the data in which an Arabic phrase was the object of an English verb, and in both of these cases the speakers were members of the second generation. In item (84) the English phrase 'programmed to protect', is actually part of an *adjectival* phrase and could be considered to be the code-switched portion of an *Arabic* sentence, (R.M. probably switched to English here because he did not know how to say this in Arabic); the return to Arabic then for the object of the verb 'protect' simply completes the Arabic sentence. It is not clear whether there is a tendency for the second generation (rather than the first generation) respondents to switch to Arabic for the object of an English verb. The data do show, however, that switches were more commonly made the other way round, that is, to English for the object of an Arabic verb. One possible reason for this is that people generally tried to speak in Arabic, and English nouns or noun phrases, (including the objects of verbs) are more easily inserted into Arabic sentences than English verbs can be[73]. Finally, it should be mentioned here that, like Bentahila and Davies, (1983:313) I found no instances of a switch between a verb and its

[73] See also the concluding remarks at the end of this chapter.

object *pronoun*; as Bentahila and Davies point out, the reason for this can probably be found in the same constraint which rules out switching between the subject pronoun and its verb, that is, these two constituents are unified in such a way as to discourage any switching at their boundary.

5.1.7 Switching Between Either Two Parallel Verbs or a Participle and a Verb

Bentahila and Davies refer to switching within types of construction similar to those with which I wish to deal here, as taking place at the boundary of "an auxiliary and main verb, or between a tensed main verb and its verbal complement, the choice of terminology here depending on the syntactic analysis preferred" (1983:314). I feel, however, that the terminology indicated in the heading of this section will better describe the particular examples I wish to look at[74]. Bentahila and Davies found many instances in their corpus of similar types of switching. There are two interesting points concerning the examples which Bentahila and Davies examine in their article. Firstly, an Arabic verb (or phrase acting as a verb) is always followed by the French infinitive form; and, secondly, the French infinitive is accompanied in each

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[74] I refer to the term 'auxiliary' here in its traditional meaning, that is "the set of verbs, subordinate to the main lexical verb, which help to make distinctions in mood, aspect, voice, etc." Crystal (1985:28).

case by an Arabic inflection, for example: 'tatbqa tat*gratter*' ('you keep scratching') (1983:315). The prefix /tat/ indicates the imperfect tense, and *gratter* is the French infinitive 'to scratch'; the Arabic prefix transforms the French infinitive into a finite verb. There is a similar example involving an Arabic inflection attached to an English verb in my corpus:

(89) A.A.: *makuntši: kanataʿ'id ɣadi n- nleave* [I DID NOT BELIEVE I (WAS) GOING ... (TO) LEAVE] the country

In the above example the prefix */n-/* also indicates the imperfect tense and accompanies English 'leave', yet the English particle 'to', which indicates the infinitive, is omitted. There are other examples in my data in which this English particle is also left out, but in these examples no Arabic inflection accompanies the English verb either:

(90) A.A.: *kayfa ɣadi* [HOW WILL HE] come down again?

(91) A.A.: *makaybɣiši yaʿni* [HE DOES NOT WANT IT MEANS (TO)] help *makaybɣiši yi ʿawin* [HE DOES NOT WANT TO HELP (LIT: HE HELPS)]

In these two examples (90) and (91) the English verbs 'come down' and 'help' seem to be treated as finite verbs (despite the absence of an Arabic inflectional prefix), since there is no particle 'to' indicating the infinitive. Furthermore, item (90) might also be compared with item (89) where *ɣadi* is followed by the finite verb (the Arabic imperfect prefix */n-/* clearly indicates that *nleave* is finite); by analogy *ɣadi* in item (90) must likewise be followed by a finite verb.

Here are three more examples in which the Arabic verb, or participle, is this time clearly followed by the English infinitive:

(92) S.O.: *yimkin* [IS IT POSSIBLE] to put it off?

(93) A.A.: is *lezim* [NECESSARY] to know you see *lezim ta^{c}araf* [NECESSARY TO KNOW (LIT:YOU KNOW)]

(94) A.A.: *ya^{c}ni lezim* [THAT IS (IT IS) NECESSARY] to - you have to tell the truth

In the last item (94) the speaker does not say the English verb but the particle 'to' after *lezim* indicates that he was about to give an English infinitive, probably the same infinitive which is actually uttered in the latter part of the sentence, ie. 'to tell'. It is noted too that in item (93) the participle *lezim* ('necessary')[75] appears with the English copula 'is'. It is striking that neither *yimkin* nor *lezim* appeared in any code-switched utterance in which the following English verb was treated as a finite form; conversely, it is also noteworthy that neither *ɣadi* or *makayb ɣiši* (or any other form of this verb) appeared with the English infinitive. The number of examples in the data are too scant here for one to be able to draw any firm conclusions, but one can nevertheless look for possible differences between *ɣadi* and *makayb ɣiši* on the one hand, and *yimkin* and *lezim* on the other to try to account for this discrepancy. As it happens, there is one striking difference between them, and that is that whilst *ɣadi* and *makayb ɣiši* imply a personal subject ('he will/is going' or 'I will/am going', and 'he does not

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75 *lezim* is an Arabic active participle

want', respectively) *yimkin* and *lezim* are associated with impersonal subjects ('it is possible', and '(it is) necessary', respectively). The question remains, however, why this should affect the following code-switched English verbal form. The only possible answer I can think of relates to the way in which my respondents regard the English infinitive: there may be some connection in their minds between the English infinitive and the impersonal subject. Nothing for the moment, though, can be said here with any certainty since more instances of switching at this boundary are needed before one can be sure that the differential behaviour of the English verb in the above examples is not simply coincidental.

Some comment also ought to be made concerning the direction of the switch in all of these six cases. Like Bentahila and Davies I too have only found examples in which switching occurs from Arabic to English. Bentahila and Davies explain this direction of the switch by the fact that French verbs are

> "subcategorised for an infinitival complement ... since there is no form of the Arabic verb corresponding to the French infinitive ... there seems to be no way in which a switch at this point can be compatible with subcategorisation restrictions" (1983:322).

The same explanation may also be given for the fact that no switching occurred after English verbs or phrases such as 'to want', 'it is possible' and 'it is necessary' in my data, since all these require a following infinitive; English auxiliaries, however, are *not* accompanied by the

infinitive. There is a possible difference here, then, between Arabic-French code-switching and Arabic-English code-switching, since auxiliaries in French, unlike their English counterparts, always do take an infinitive verb (eg. 'je vais *partir*' ('I will *go*')). Perhaps other studies will reveal that for Arabic-English speakers switching between the English auxiliary and the main verb is acceptable.

5.1.8 Switching Where There is Structural Non-Equivalence

As I mentioned in the introduction to this chapter Bentahila and Davies found that switching was sometimes possible even at points where "the two languages differ in their surface structure organisation" (1983:318). One example they gave was, '*ža le contrôle*' ('came *the checking-time*'), in which the word order, verb subject, is possible in Arabic but not in French. There were similar examples of this type of switch in my corpus:

(95) R.M.: *(ya)jibni* [PLEASES ME (I LIKE)] his his some of his short stories (second generation)

(96) S.A.: *kayᶜažibni* [PLEASES ME (I LIKE)] comedies as well (second generation)[76]

(97) Z.A.: *kiyži l-(h)um* [COMES TO THEM] a lot

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[76] Note that in items (95) and (96) the verb should either be marked by the plural suffix */-u/* or the feminine prefix */t-/* (eg. *(ya)jibuni*, *katᶜažibni* etc) since an inanimate plural such as 'stories' or 'comedies' takes either a plural verb or a feminine singular verb in Moroccan Arabic. Note too that R.M. uses the Classical Arabic phoneme */j/* in *(ya)jibni*, instead of Moroccan Arabic */ž/* (item (95)).

There is also an example in the data in which an adjectival phrase is positioned *after* the nouns it describes, rather than before it. This violates English word order rules, but is possible in Arabic:

(98) Z.A.: *ʿandu m:u aw b:u* [HE HAS HIS MOTHER AND FATHER] very old

Bentahila and Davies also mention examples of code-switching in which the *relative marker* has been omitted (1983:320). In the cases they examine this was permissible in Arabic, but not in French, hence the structural non-equivalence. There was one possible example in my corpus of this type of switch:

(99) A.A.: *wa ḍalim huwa raz̄l* [AND A WRONG DOER HE (IS) A MAN (WHO)] ki - kill the person

When I looked at this example I was struck firstly by the absence of the relative marker, and secondly by the fact that no inflectional suffix /-s/ (to mark the third person singular of the English present tense verb) had been attached to the verb 'kill'. One might possibly comment that this is a case where structural non-equivalence has not prevented a switch from taking place: that is, in this example (like those discussed by Bentahila and Davies) Arabic does not require the relative marker and therefore it does not occur, despite the fact that in English it is obligatory in this type of sentence (eg. 'a wrongdoer is a man *who* kills people'). The absence of the inflectional suffix from the verb 'kill' could be explained by A.A.'s poor command of English; this might be simply a grammatical mistake.

There is a more attractive explanation, however, which I feel is more likely. I had previously assumed that 'ki-', which appeared immediately before 'kill', was an indication of hesitancy on the part of the speaker, or even a slight stutter. Another interpretation might be, though, that this is actually the Moroccan Arabic inflection */kiy-/* indicating the third person singular imperfect, which has been attached to the English verb, to produce *kiykill* ('he kills'). This would account for the missing English suffix /-s/, at the same time as it also overcomes the problem of structural non-equivalence, (since the switch to English takes place after the point where the relative marker would be expected to occur).

There is another rather unusual example of a code-switched sentence in the corpus which might be explained by looking at factors similar to those which have just been examined for item (99) above. The example shows a switch occurring after the Moroccan Arabic adverb *mil:i* ('when'):

(100) Z.A.: *wa lekin huwa mil:i* [(AND) BUT HE WHEN] get very old

What is odd about this sentence is that English 'get' requires here both an accompanying pronoun 'he' and an inflectional suffix /-s/, (to indicate the third person singular); but these are both missing from the utterance. The idea of some sort of interference due to a poor understanding of English grammatical rules on the part of the speaker, has already been suggested as an explanation for the absence of inflectional /-s/ in the case of 'kill'

in item (99), but this idea was superseded by an alternative suggestion. In the case of item (100) one might also explain the absence of the English suffix as being due to the speaker's poor command of English. It is, however, more difficult to explain the absence of the English pronoun in a similar way. Perhaps one might argue that the pronoun is supplied by Arabic *huwa*, and Z.A. has confused the English word order in positioning *mil:i* between the subject and its verb; yet this explanation does not seem to be very satisfactory since Z.A. was never observed to violate English word order in this way. Even if one were to suppose this to be an instance of 'structural non-equivalence', where the word order is possible in Arabic but not in English, yet where a switch can be made one would still expect the English pronoun to accompany the English verb just as in Arabic the verb is accompanied by a clitic pronoun.

Once again there is an alternative explanation which seems more plausible. When I examined the example a second time I noticed that 'get' was treated very much like an Arabic present tense verb, in the sense that it had no inflectional suffix attached to it (ie./-s/), and no separate accompanying pronoun, (as if it had a clitic pronoun like the Arabic verb). It seemed to me then that the English verb 'get' might be accompanied by an Arabic inflection: /*yi-*/ or rather its allomorph /*i-*/, (third person imperfect prefix, and that the reason why this

inflection is difficult to detect is due to an elision with the preceding word *mil:i*, for example '*mil:iiget*' very old (where the arrow marks a 'doubling' of the two vowels). As with item (99) this would mean that this is not a case of structural non-equivalence, since the switch does not afterall occur immediately after the adverb *mil:i*; in addition this would also account for the absence of the suffix /-s/ from the third person singular verb 'get', and supply the (clitic) pronoun which is required between the adverb and the verb.

5.1.9 Grammatical Interference

Some sort of grammatical interference, due to the speaker's imperfect grasp of English grammatical rules, has been suggested to explain certain anomalies in the two code-switched sentences above (99) and (100); in both cases, however, other, more likely explanations were also proposed, which made the idea of any such grammatical interference seem doubtful. There is another example in the corpus though, where the idea of interference does seem to be highly relevant; this possible interference is not due, however, to grammatical mistakes made by a non-native speaker of English, but to the colloquial English spoken by one of the second generation Moroccans:

(101) B.O.: *s̄nu* [WHAT (IS)] *lḥayet* mean?

This utterance seems odd because the English word 'mean' is quite redundant, *s̄nu lḥayet* ('what (is) *lḥayet*') would

have been perfectly adequate by itself. In another example, in English, this speaker also employs the word 'mean':

(102) B.O.: what does *safar* mean?

A comparison of this English utterance and item (101) above suggests that B.O. has either taken the word *šnu* to mean 'what does', or has misunderstood the Arabic present tense form of the verb 'to be' (which in *šnu lḥayet* is implied: 'what (is) life'), substituting the English auxiliary 'does' for the implied copula 'is'. Both these suggestions are, however, proved wrong by the existence of Arabic utterances in B.O.'s speech such as:

(103) B.O.: *šni* [WHAT (IS)] nightingale?[77].

This shows her correct use of *šni* with the implied Arabic copula 'is', and therefore demonstrates that she has not misunderstood the meaning of *šnu lḥayet* in item (101) above. It follows then that item (102) cannot be compared with item (101) since this speaker's grammatical usage is quite different in each case: 'what does *safar* mean' as opposed to 'what (is) *lḥayet* mean'.

There is actually an English utterance in the data which seems grammatically very similar to this last example (item (101)):

(104) B.O.: what's that mean?

Here 'what's' is employed instead of standard English 'what does', (which occurs in item (102)). It is difficult to

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[77] *šni* is an alternative form of *šnu* in Moroccan Arabic.

determine though, whether it is grammatically equivalent to 'what does' or whether in this speaker's mind it represents the shortened form of 'what is'. The latter possibility seems more attractive because one might thereby offer an explanation for item (101) above; simply that '*s̄nu lḥayet* mean' is grammatically equivalent to B.O.'s colloquial English, 'what's *lḥayet* mean'; 'what's' being easily accounted for by *s̄nu* (with the implied Arabic copula 'is').

5.1.10 Switching at the Boundaries of an Adverb or Adverbial Phrase

The instances of switching recorded in the data indicate that people switched more often to English than to Arabic for an adverb or adverbial phrase. The following are some examples of this type of switch.

A switch takes place from Arabic to English:

(105) S.A.: *ʿamlat hiya* [SHE DID] just higher - 'A' levels *f-hum* [IN THEM] (second generation)

(106) A.A.: *hadi ʿišrin sana 00* [THIS (IS) TWENTY YEARS AND] just like four

(107) A.A.: *kayn linsen kiytry kiytry* [THERE IS THE PERSON (WHO) TRIES TRIES] hard hard hard

(108) Z.A.: *xasha katqayha* [SHE HAS TO DO IT] every two weeks and she get fixed

(109) Z.A.: *yixar:šu* [IT GETS IT OUT] once *wa intina-lḥamd l:eh!* [AND YOU (ARE) - PRAISE BE TO GOD!]

Note that in item (107) the English word 'try' is accompanied by the Arabic inflection */kiy-/* (indicating third person imperfect tense).

A switch takes place from English to Arabic:

(110) A.A.: no, they talking about chicken *fa'at* [ONLY]

Switching also occurred after the adverb or adverbial phrase, from both English and Arabic. Here are some examples of this type of switch from English:

(111) A.A.: why *ana manimšiši n ʿanda rižal d-šurta*? [DO I NOT GO TO THE POLICE]

(112) Z.A.: here *ši waḥid mayšufik* [NO ONE SEES YOU]

from Arabic:

(113) S.A.: *zama tm:a* [THAT IS THERE] is happy life (second generation)[78]

Item (111) is interesting when it is compared with the findings of Bentahila and Davies (1983). In this example 'why' is an interrogative adverb; the Arabic-French bilinguals taking part in Bentahila and Davies' study considered all instances where an Arabic word of this type ("an Arabic *wh*-word" (1983:311)) was followed by a switch to French to be quite acceptable, but this was not the case in the reverse situation; thus an instance such as '*qui* qalhadsi' ('who said that'), where a switch to Arabic follows French *qui* was judged to be odd (ibid:311-312). In my corpus, however, not only did no switch occur at all after any Arabic word of this type, but also, contrary to the observations made by Bentahila and Davies for Arabic-French code-switching, my data show that a switch to Arabic is possible after an English interrogative adverb, ('why'), as was shown above. It is impossible to say though, only on the basis of the present corpus, whether other English interrogative adverbs would also be used in similar code-switched utterances by my respondents.

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78 Note the presence of English 'is' rather than the implied Arabic copula, it implies that English grammar is more dominant for this speaker (a member of the second generation) than Arabic

5.1.11 Switching at the Boundaries of a Preposition or Prepositional Phrase

My respondents switched both to English and to Arabic for prepositions:

(114) R.M.: *ʿandik ykun waḥid* [YOU HAVE (IS)ONE] on the left hand side (second generation)

(115) A.A.: *mawzud aktar* [(IT.IS) PRESENT MORE] for immigration

(116) S.O.: *n:us lawal* [THE FIRST HALF] in the front

(117) S.A.: *ʿamlat hiya* [SHE DID] just higher- 'A' levels *f-hum* [IN THEM] (second generation)

(118) Z.A.: how we call by English Ahmad *ʿala šaraf*? [FOR HONOUR]

(119) S.O.: *yaʿni* [IT MEANS] coat to cover *min fuq* [OVER THE TOP]

There are also instances where a preposition in one language governs a nominal phrase in the other:

(120) A.A.: *haza muhim:a b-zef* [A VERY IMPORTANT THING] for *a-* for *j-* for *lʿadala* [JUSTICE]

(121) R.M.: *waḥid ʿala* [ONE ON] right hand side (second generation)

(122) Z.A.: *deba maʿ maʿ* [NOW WITH WITH] my mother

Bentahila and Davies also noted numerous examples of this type of switching, both before and after the preposition. Their data also included examples where the speaker switched on either side of the preposition, as in item (120) above.

5.1.12 Switching for an Adjective or Adjectival Phrase

Switching took place to English and to Arabic for adjectives and adjectival phrases, for example:

(123) A.A.: *kiykun axu* [HIS BROTHER IS] very rich

(124) A.A.: have to be *maktub maktub* [WRITTEN WRITTEN]

People revealed a strong tendency to switch to English, rather than to Arabic, here, particularly for adjectival phrases, (eg. 'too greedy', 'very sad', 'very rich' etc). The adjectives and adjectival phrases which appeared in code-switched sentences also tended to form part of a predicate, (see switching between the subject and predicate above).

5.1.13 Switching for a Parenthetical Clause or Phrase

In analysing the data of the present study I was struck particularly by the fact that on a number of occasions a switch to the other language functioned in such a way as to differentiate a certain remark made by the speaker from the remainder of the utterance. The motivation behind such a switch did not appear to be due either to situational factors or to the metaphorical usage of language, but seemed simply to reflect the fact that the speaker was making an aside or parenthetical remark. Here are some examples of this type of switch, (both to English and to Arabic):

(125) S.A.: *ysami* [IT IS CALLED] - we've got it over there - Clyde Howe (second generation)

(126) Z.A.: *an amin Mḥam:ad* [I BELIEVE (IN) MUHAMMAD] -

he's my prophet - but *kanamin sidna ʿIsa* [I BELIEVE IN OUR MASTER JESUS]

(127) S.M.: *kaydiru nhar z̄umaʿ* [THEY DO (IT)(ON) FRIDAY] - like today - *z̄umaʿ* [FRIDAY]

(128) Z.A.: er tea - *hadik lwaqt maši lʿaš̄a* [THAT TIME IS NOT SUPPER TIME] - tea and biscuits

(129) Z.A.: she get er how - h - *li kayqulu huma* [AS (WHAT) THEY SAY] - you get ... you feed her

It is noted that item (126) poses a problem. One cannot say for sure, by looking at the example above, whether the English conjunction 'but' is actually a conjunction joining the English phrase with the following Arabic, ('he's my prophet but *kanamin sidna ʿIsa*'), in which case 'he's my prophet' is not a parenthetical remark; or whether the two Arabic phrases are conjoined by 'but', (*'an amin Mḥam:ad* ... but *kanamin sidna Isa'*) and 'he's my prophet' *is* an embedded or parenthetical clause. When I recall the scene, the words, '*an amin Mḥam:ad* ... but *kanamin sidna ʿIsa*', seem to have been uttered as a statement of fact; whereas, 'he's my prophet', came across as an explanation, or an offering of additional information, due to the small alterations in the pitch of the speaker's voice, which was slightly lower. This suggests, therefore, that the latter possibility is the correct one; that is, that 'he's my prophet' was in fact intended as an aside.

Bentahila and Davies also deal with parenthetical clauses, but the type of examples they discuss are rather different from those which have just been quoted above. By

parenthetical clause they refer to phrases such as *yaʿni* ('it means') and *tu vois* ('you see') (1983:310). There were some instances in my data where the switch involved this type of parenthetical phrase, for example the Arabic expressions in the following:

(130) A.A.: the British - *yaʿni* [IT MEANS] the British Government

(131) A.A.: if someone *b-ḥa(q)* [IN TRUTH] they need a lot

(132) A.A.: is a cruel *matalan* [FOR EXAMPLE] is not

and English 'you see' in this example:

(133) A.A.: *lezim taʿaraf* [(IT IS) NECESSARY (THAT) YOU KNOW] y'see *liʾan:a* ... [BECAUSE ...]

The parenthetical clauses, or phrases, involved in these code-switched examples above might sometimes be thought of as 'gap fillers' in the sense that they are used by the speaker to ensure the continued flow of speech instead of pauses or hesitations. These and other such 'gap fillers' occur constantly in monolingual speech as well as in some bilingual utterances in the corpus too. *Zama* ('that is') is among the most common:

(134) S.A.: *zama* [THAT IS] this is endless (second generation)

(135) A.A.: *nes zama kiy'ulu zàma* [PEOPLE THAT IS SAY THAT IS] is a cruel

It is noteworthy that, although these types of expressions were commonly used by all my respondents only one speaker, (A.A.), freely used them in code-switching. English and Arabic expressions such as 'that's what I say', *b-ḥa'* ('in truth'), *waḥd lḥaz̄a* ('one thing'), *yaʿni* ('that is') and so forth featured prominently throughout our taped

conversation together. Here is one example which will demonstrate the extent to which A.A. makes use of these sorts of gap filler, (and there are numerous, similar instances in the corpus):

(136) A.A.: *man'adarši* [I CANNOT] you see - *hedi waḥ(d) lḥaza* [THIS IS ONE THING] that's what I - is what I said *hedi waḥ(d) m- waḥ(d) mitel* [THIS IS ONE - ONE EXAMPLE] they can' er ... you planning something, it don' work - y'know? you - *b-lḥa'* - *waḥ(d) lḥaza kayna* [IN TRUTH - THERE IS ONE THING]

This respondent's language seems to be full of clichés; common Arabic expressions and English phrases he has learnt off pat. It is hard to say in the example given above which language dominates, since the phrases alternate with each other so. It is instances such as these, together with A.A.'s constant repetition, and general alternation from one code to another, (noted in the section on "Emphasis" in the last chapter) which make an analysis of A.A.'s language behaviour so interesting. As I have already mentioned (in the same chapter) it seems to be part of A.A.'s intention to maintain a continuous flow of speech for as long as possible and thereby, it is implied, to keep control of the conversation; the English and Arabic phrases which render it so difficult for anyone to interrupt and of which he makes such abundant use, help him to achieve exactly this.

5.2. Some Concluding Remarks

The analysis of the data which has just been presented provides some evidence in support of observations made by

other scholars, in particular Eid (1992) and Bentahila and Davies (1983). The most important and universal of these observations seems to be the prohibition on switching between the pronoun and its verb; this restriction is also operative in the present study. Other restrictions which have been noted by Eid, for example, and which apply to switching at other *grammatically (semi-)unified* boundaries (as they appear to be) are also corroborated to some degree in the foregoing analysis: By this I mean that patterns that emerged in Eid's analysis of code-switching at the boundaries of coordinate, subordinate and relative clauses are similar to patterns I have noted in the speech of my respondents; thus switching in the subordinate and relative clause constructions might be said to be restricted after both the Arabic and the English markers, and in the coordinate clause there appears to be a restriction on switching after the English marker. As far as the complement clause is concerned, however, our results did differ. Eid concludes that switching at the boundaries of the complement clause is more restricted than it is at the boundaries of the relative clause; I found the reverse to be true. In Eid's study a clitic pronoun attached to the Arabic complementiser (eg. *inn-i* 'that I') always intervened between the complementiser and the switch point; neither did Eid find any instances of switching after the English complementiser. In my own study switching occurred at both of these points. Conversely, in the relative clause construction, my data

produced only examples in which switching occurred before the *English* marker; Eid, on the other hand, found that switching occurred before both the English and Arabic markers. Hence the discrepancy in our conclusions.

In the corpus I also found examples in which switching took place between the subject and the predicate, the verb and its object and between what might be called the 'topic' and the rest of the sentence. It became clear to me at an early stage in the analysis that very often restrictions on switching at certain boundaries could not be regarded as categorical; rather my respondents seemed to exhibit a *tendency* to switch at some boundaries more than others. This viewpoint made it possible to see certain patterns in how people code-switched, and at the same time, to take into account the exceptions that occur; (I have noted a number of exceptions in the analysis above).

Bentahila and Davies also found that switching may take place where the languages involved are *structurally non-equivalent*, and some instances were included in my corpus too, which demonstrated that this type of switch was possible. In particular, I found examples of code-switching in which English word order rules were violated, yet this was the preferred - or required - word order in Arabic, (ie. an Arabic verb followed by an English subject, or an Arabic noun followed by an English

adjective). Code-switching occurred between two verbs (which might be called verbs 'A' and 'B'), and between a participle and a verb as well. In these construction types Arabic and English were also structurally non-equivalent since in English, whether the construction involved two verbs ('A' and'B'), or a participle and a verb, verb 'B', or the verb following the participle, would have been an infinitive, yet in Arabic this verb must always be finite, (there being no infinitive verbal form in Arabic). In some of the examples I found in the corpus the speaker overcame the problem of structural non-equivalence by transforming the English infinitive into a finite form by omitting the English particle 'to' (which indicates the infinitive); in addition an Arabic imperfect prefix was sometimes added to the English verb (thereby marking it clearly as a finite form). Bentahila and Davies found that their Arabic-French bilingual speakers always marked the French verb which followed an Arabic verb or an Arabic participle, as a finite form by adding this type of Arabic prefix[79]; they concluded that switching was blocked from French to Arabic, since the Arabic finite form could not similarly be transformed into the infinitive form which normally follows a French verb. This would also partly explain why switching within such a construction only occurred from Arabic to English in my

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79 The reason for this is probably due to the form of the French infinitive, which has no separate particle (like English 'to') that can be dropped when the speaker wishes to transform the verb into a finite form.

data too, (although, one notes that English *auxiliary* verbs do not require a following infinitive verb). However, there were also cases in my data where an Arabic verb, or an Arabic participle, was followed by an English *infinitive* (eg. '*ymkin* [IS IT POSSIBLE] to put it off?'). This is interesting since Bentahila and Davies would presumably 'sub-categorise' *yimkin* as taking a *finite* verb; this example, and others, would imply then that the language 'subcategorisation' restrictions which Bentahila and Davies refer to (1983:301, for example) do not *always* restrict code-switching as they suggest.

'Pronoun doubling' and other types of doubling phenomena have been examined in the foregoing analysis too. I suggested that the motivation for pronoun doubling may be more complex than it appears to be in Eid's work, since psycholinguistic factors seem to play an important role, as well as the difficulty in switching at the boundary of the pronoun and its verb, and the need to effect a smooth transition from one language to another. I concluded that it is at times possible to compare pronoun doubling with other instances of 'subject doubling' in the corpus, yet the doubling of the pronoun also seems to function, *sometimes*, in a way which would suggest that it is part of a general doubling phenomenon within code-switching as a whole.

In the introduction to this chapter I mentioned that both

a person's dialect and his social background/education may in some way affect the way in which he code-switches. In my data there is a striking example of code-switching, which can only be explained by reference to the speaker's colloquial use of English (section 5.1.9), and there were also a few cases in which a speaker's *poor command of English* sheds light on some of the anomalies which I had noted. Such instances are rare but they do demonstrate that reference to the speaker's individual linguistic behaviour is sometimes important in analysing code-switching.

I have also noted in the introduction that Bentahila and Davies had the impression that Arabic had distinct roles to play in the code-switched speech of their Arabic-French bilinguals. They noticed that there was a tendency for their speakers to use Arabic for "grammatical items or function words, such as determiners, pronouns, prepositions and conjunctions ... and also for the kinds of parenthetical clause used as fillers or discourse markers" (1983:326-7) and to use French for "lexical items, particularly for nouns", (ibid:327). Pronouns and determiners are not included in the present discussion because I found no instances where a switch was made for a determiner, and although people did code-switch for pronouns, my data only record this taking place during pronoun doubling, (in which case the pronouns are both from Arabic and from English). As far as conjunctions are

concerned people did generally switch to Arabic more than to English here; the only exception to this were the conjunctions used in complement clauses where in all three cases in which a speaker switched for this conjunction, a switch took place to English. On the other hand people used Arabic and English to an almost equal degree when switching code for prepositions.

There were twenty two instances where the speaker switched to Arabic for the coordinate conjunction, and only five when a similar switch to English was made, of these five, two utterances were spoken by members of the second generation. In subordinate clause constructions, eight switches from English to Arabic were made for the conjunction, but only two occurred the other way round, from Arabic to English, one of which utterances was spoken by a member of the second generation. It is noteworthy that not only did no second generation Moroccan switch to Arabic for a conjunction, but also second generation Moroccans made up almost half of those who did actually switch to English here. As for switching code for prepositions, switching took place four times from English to Arabic and five times from Arabic to English. Unlike, their treatment of conjunctions, no clear pattern emerged in the behaviour of the second generation respondents with respect to switching code for a preposition: thus whilst the corpus produced one instance in which a member of the second generation switched to English for a preposition,

I also found therein one other instance in which a similar switch was made to Arabic.

Bentahila and Davies also mention that their Arabic-French bilingual speakers appear to use Arabic rather than French for "the kinds of parenthetical clause used as fillers or discourse markers" (1983:327), which I take to signify the same sort of phenomena as the 'gap fillers' discussed in the previous section. I counted fifteen instances in which speakers switched to Arabic for such a filler and ten instances where a similar switch took place to English. There is then a tendency for the switch to be made to Arabic rather than English here although the difference in the roles played by Arabic and English is not so striking in the case of 'gap fillers' as it is when my respondents switched code for a coordinate or subordinate conjunction.

It can be concluded that there are patterns, evident in the corpus, in the way in which Arabic and English are employed by my respondents during code-switching, yet these patterns differ somewhat from the impressions Bentahila and Davies had of the roles of Arabic and French in the speech of Arabic-French speakers in Morocco. According to my data, the first generation Moroccans taking part in my study have a strong tendency to use Arabic for both coordinate and subordinate conjunctions in utterances exhibiting code-switching, but, strangely, not

for conjunctions at the boundary of the complement clause. (This may be due to the fact that there were very little data for switching at the boundaries of this type of clause; perhaps more data would have produced different results). They are also prone, to some degree, to switch to Arabic for 'parenthetical clauses' used as 'gap fillers'. These findings accord with Bentahila and Davies' impressions above. However, my data do not show that my respondents are more likely to switch to Arabic than to English for prepositions and prepositional phrases, contrary to what Bentahila and Davies have observed for their respondents. There seems to be no clear distinction in the roles played by Arabic and English here.

Conjunctions are a type of function word[80]; they have also been termed a type of *closed-class item*, which means that they belong to a *closed-class* to which new *items* are not regularly added (Crystal (1985:51)); bearing this in mind one can perhaps see the attraction of Bentahila and Davies' suggestion about the differential use of Arabic and French, since the idea of the *closed-class* suggests that bilingual speakers would not be likely to insert a function word from one language into speech mainly conducted in another language because the inserted word

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80 i.e. "A word which does not carry a full lexical meaning, but rather a grammatical or functional significance ... as opposed to content words which have lexical meaning." Hartmann and Stork (1973:91).

implies the addition of a new item into a *closed-class*. Accordingly, the language the speaker uses mostly at any given time is also likely to be the language of the closed-class items. This may explain the reason for the Arabic conjunction in an example such as, '*lhawa sxun wa* people friendly' but gives no help for an item such as, 'he's the father for every poor *aw* handicap', in which sentence English is doubtless the dominant language, yet one of the function words *aw* ('or'), is taken from Arabic. A further explanation could be that because Arabic grammar is dominant for my first generation respondents (since Arabic is their first language), grammatical words from Arabic may be prone to occur in otherwise English utterances. A similar explanation would also account for the behaviour of the second generation who made up almost half of those who switched to English for conjunctions, but who never used an Arabic conjunction at the boundary of an English clause: one might argue that since English is *their* dominant language English grammatical words are more likely to occur in their Arabic sentences than vice versa.

As far as prepositions are concerned Arabic and English do not seem to be differentiated much in their roles here. The difference in the treatment of conjunctions and prepositions may perhaps reflect some grammatical distinction between the two. Furthermore, the difference between *closed* (limited membership) and *open* (unlimited

membership) classes is not so distinct as it might appear to be; thus, although prepositions are, like conjunctions, *closed-class* items (Crystal (1975:51)), "the class of prepositions in English ... is relatively open" (ibid:214). Unlike conjunctions, prepositions often occur in prepositional phrases, for example, 'on the left hand side' and 'in the front' which the speaker may use *as a phrase*, without paying attention to the preposition itself. It is noted that a similar explanation might also apply to 'gap fillers', which can be learnt as idiomatic expressions, and which my respondents would, one suspects, have readily learnt in English as a convenient means by which they could achieve an air of fluency in their non-native tongue. Bentahila and Davies also gained the impression that their respondents tended to switch to French rather than Arabic for lexical items - and especially nouns. I take 'lexical items' to include nouns (subject and object), adverbs, adjectives and most verbs (but not the copula verb since this is often absent from Arabic); these might all be termed as types of *content word*, that is,

> "A word which has a full lexical meaning of its own ... as opposed to a function word [a conjunction for example] which has no such independent lexical meaning but just contributes to the grammatical meaning of a construction" (Hartmann and Stork (1973:51)).

The data demonstrate that my respondents tended to switch to English rather than to Arabic for these types of words, just as Bentahila and Davies' respondents tended to switch to French rather than Arabic here too. Some of these

switches, and especially the use of non-Arabic nouns, shall be discussed in the next chapter. Apart from nouns, people switched to English mostly for adjectives (or adjectival phrases) (twenty three switches were made to English here, but only two to Arabic); switching for an adverb (or adverbial phrase) was also mainly in the direction of English (eleven switches were made to English, but only one to Arabic). The roles played by Arabic and English in switching for a verb, however, were not so distinct, (only six switches to English occurred for a verb, and three took place to Arabic). The latter result might perhaps be explained by an asymmetry in the two language systems: Arabic verbs are inflected, for the third person singular in the present tense; this may pose a problem for the speaker if he wishes to code-switch for the verb. Moreover, it can be argued that native speakers of Arabic would tend not to insert an English verb into an Arabic sentence, because verbs are of such central importance to what they are saying that they would be disposed to take the verbs from their dominant language (Arabic), rather than their subordinate, non-native language (English). One could also argue that it is probably *easier* to learn the nouns, at least, (and probably the adjectives and adverbs as well) of a foreign language than it is to master the verbs. It is possible that my first generation respondents feel, therefore, that a certain lack of proficiency in English verbs together with the central role of verbs in a given narrative,

prevents them, to a large degree, from switching to English here[81]. (One notes that English verbs have been transformed into Arabic verbs with an English lexical content e.g. *nleave* (section 5.1.7)).

In the present study, lexical items, such as nouns, adjectives and adverbs, are more likely to come from English than are the function words or grammatical items such as conjunctions and prepositions. This accords with Bentahila and Davies' impressions of code-switching amongst Arabic-French bilinguals in Morocco. The reason why people are more likely to switch to English for lexical items is probably fairly complex. One obvious explanation for the insertion of English *nouns* is that the speaker is talking about something to do with the English speaking society or culture. Furthermore, since lexical items such as those discussed above (nouns, adjectives, adverbs, verbs etc.) belong to the *open-class* of words, "whose membership is in principle indefinite or unlimited" (Crystal (1985:213-4)), one would suspect that such words are more freely inserted (code-switched) - and borrowed - into speech mainly conducted in another language, than are *closed-class* items (this restriction on closed-class items was mentioned above). This is because the 'unlimited membership' of this class implies a certain *freedom of*

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[81] All this applies to the first generation, (native speakers of Arabic). As for the second generation (native speakers of English), they did not generally code-switch to the same extent as their parents.

access which allows new words of this type into a language, and which is largely denied in the case of the *closed-class*. Yet another explanation lies in the ease with which people seem to assimilate nouns, especially, from a foreign language; the tendency for people to switch to nouns, adjectives and adverbs (to a lesser degree) might reflect the degree of people's assimilation of these words from English. Although there may be other explanations, the three factors which have just been mentioned almost certainly have some influence on the frequency with which people tend to switch to English for lexical items; they also have some bearing upon the phenomenon of *borrowing*, which will be dealt with in the next chapter.

Chapter Six

Borrowing, Foreigner Talk and a Note on the Second Generation

6.0 Introduction

In this chapter I will explore some other aspects of language contact which have not yet been addressed. I will concentrate on a number of interesting characteristics of the language behaviour of the first generation Moroccans in Edinburgh and will also deal, to a lesser extent, with the language behaviour of the second generation which I will discuss specifically in the final section.

6.1 Borrowing

It has already been suggested that the investigation of languages in contact commonly involves the study of two interrelated concepts: borrowing and code-switching. However, one might also add to these such notions as 'foreigner talk', 'second language acquisition', 'pidginization' and 'language shift/language maintenance'[82]. It seems appropriate here, however, to begin by looking at borrowing because of its close relationship with code-switching and because of the

[82]The last of these will be discussed in the final chapter.

relatively large amount of data on this phenomenon which have been produced by the present research. The first issue to which scholars often direct their attention in studies on borrowing or code-switching is the way in which one might distinguish between these two phenomena. The following is an extract from Gumperz (1977), who describes what he thinks the distinction to be:

"Borrowing consists of the introduction of single words or short, frozen, idiomatic phrases from one language into the other. The items in question are incorporated into the grammatical system of the borrowing language. They are treated as part of its lexicon, take on its morphological characteristics and enter into its syntactic structures. Code-switching, by contrast, relies on the meaningful[83] juxtaposition of what speakers must process as strings formed according to the internal syntactic rules of two distinct systems" (1977:6).

It is not entirely clear what Gumperz intends when he speaks of borrowed items forming 'part of the lexicon' of the 'borrowing language'. The question remains whether he is speaking of the shared lexicon of the language community as a whole, or whether he is referring to individual competence, and the 'lexicon of the borrowing language' should be seen in terms of 'idiolects'. This last viewpoint is highly relevant to the study undertaken here, and relates to the fact that individual speakers (often bilinguals) form the vanguard of linguistic change through language contact. Moreoyer, Gumperz points out that there are marginal cases, where it is very difficult to decide which of the two terms would apply; for example,

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83 The word 'meaningful' is used somewhat ambiguously here for it could imply either the meaning (situational or metaphorical) of the switch itself, or the satisfactory communication of a simple message.

to what extent should a word be integrated into the grammatical system of the borrowing language before it can be called a borrowing? (this would apply to phonological integration as well).

Further complications arise when 'borrowed items' are categorised according to the *type* of borrowing they represent. Peñalosa (1980), for instance, sees the term 'borrowing' to be 'a rather loose word' and distinguishes various 'levels' to which it can refer:

> "an individual's occasional, more or less spontaneous use of a word from the other language; use of the foreign word as an alternative to the native one by a substantial proportion of speakers; adoption of the word by all speakers but with consciousness of its foreign origins; and finally, complete nativization of the foreign word, universal use without any consciousness of its foreign origin" (1980:32);

the first of these levels, which has been called 'spontaneous borrowing'[84], being that which is closest to code-switching. Perhaps a convenient way of looking at code-switching and borrowing is to view them as being situated at the extreme ends of a continuum, towards the centre of which the two phenomena gradually merge, so that eventually it becomes impossible to distinguish, with any certainty, one from the other. This is not very satisfactory though, since the complexity of the factors involved would, in practice, not allow for the exact positioning along the continuum of all words and phrases

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84 This was a term originally used by Reyes, Rogelio (1974) *Studies in Chicano Spanish* Harvard University (Dissertation).

at any given moment. These factors include 1) the number of speakers who use the word or phrase, 2) the frequency of usage, and 3) the degree of phonological and grammatical integration. I shall briefly examine these three factors individually:

1) Number of speakers. In the above extract Peñalosa finds it helpful to define the various 'levels' of borrowing partly in terms of the *number* of speakers using a particular borrowed item; thus borrowing would range from that carried out by the *individual* speaker, through the participation of a *substantial proportion* of speakers, to the involvement of *all* speakers in the language community; the implication being that the proportion of speakers who employ the borrowed item directly reflects the extent to which it is integrated into the borrowing language (and vice versa). (One notes too, that Peñalosa also considers the spontaneous use of a word to be a 'borrowing' even though this is characteristic of the speech of *individuals*).

2) Frequency of usage. This factor is somewhat difficult to determine due to the problem of gathering sufficient amounts of data, and to the fact that it is, as Heath points outs "individually variable" (1989:23). It may, however, be relevant in the present study since I have observed in the recordings that a few English items appear more regularly than others in both individual speech and

in the speech of the group as a whole; it seems reasonable to suppose that there is a direct relationship between the frequency with which my respondents use a foreign item when speaking Moroccan Arabic and the likelihood of the same item becoming a well-established borrowing in their speech.

3) Degree of integration. When a borrowed item becomes an established part of the borrowing language one usually finds that at least some degree of integration has taken place. In Moroccan Arabic speakers might attempt to integrate the item morphologically by using Moroccan Arabic suffixes or prefixes in order to indicate, for example, the feminine or the plural; or the continuing action of a verb (by using the prefix /ka-/ for example). Attempts may be made to integrate the item phonologically too. The notion of integration is problematic, however, in the case of both morphology and phonology. In the latter case, the new word may happen to agree already with the phonological norms of the borrowing language. It then becomes impossible to refer solely to 'phonological integration' as a means of distinguishing either between the different levels of borrowing or between borrowing and code-switching. As for 'morphological integration', a similar comment can be made: either some words require no affix in either language (for example, many advers) or the affix in one language coincidentally resembles a functionally similar affix in the other language. Neither

can one, then, always rely on morphological integration to indicate adequately the extent to which a word is established in the 'borrowing' language. Heath (1989), in his study of Moroccan Arabic spoken in Morocco, has made similar observations in connection with both morphological and phonological integration. With the former of these in mind he makes a further comment which is worth mentioning here: "... even when an Ly ['foreign' language] stem shows up in an Lx ['native' language] context with unmistakably Lx affixation, we must be careful about automatically considering this to be a borrowing. The reason for this is that in cases of prolonged language contact, speakers of Lx may develop productive routines for spontaneously inserting Ly stems into Lx frames" (1989:24). It seems that Heath is inclined to view the concept of 'borrowing' in a narrower sense than that which is implied by the 'rather loose' use of the term by Peñalosa. This presumably is largely due to the type of study Heath has chosen to undertake; that is he appears to be interested mainly in words which seem more or less established in Moroccan Arabic (taken for the most part from Classical Arabic, French, Spanish and Berber), and not words which are spontaneously inserted with little or no assimilation. On the other hand, the short extract from Peñalosa (1980:32) referred to earlier, demonstrates that the term 'borrowing' can be used to describe a whole range of items, from well-integrated loan words to those which are either only partially integrated or not integrated

(morphologically or phonologically) at all into the borrowing language. As far as the present study is concerned I am interested mainly in the latter types of item (these forming the bulk of my data on this phenomenon) and there will, therefore, only be a limited amount of discussion and analysis here of the morphological/phonological integration of the 'borrowings'.

I shall adopt the term 'spontaneous borrowing' in this connection[85], whether one regards the more or less spontaneous use of words from one language into another as borrowing or code-switching this type of language 'mixing'[86] is none the less interesting, since, through its analysis, one might learn something of the process by which foreign words become "part of the lexicon of the borrowing language". This is not to say, of course, that such a process is uniform for all language contact situations; the fact that Heath's respondents, for example, are part of the indigenous population of the country in which they live, whereas my own respondents from part of an immigrant community, must surely in itself bring about quite different processes of language change, since the needs of each community, and the influences

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85 This does not mean that the spontaneous use of all items shall automatically be considered as 'borrowing', however.

86 I use the term 'mixing' in the same sense as Pfaff here, who used 'mixing' "as a neutral cover term for code-switching and borrowing" (1979:295).

which act upon them, are very different. Furthermore, within my Moroccan community itself one notices vast differences both in the language competence of the first and second generations and in the way in which English and Arabic are mixed (it must be clear by now that the community can by no means be considered linguistically unified).

Before considering some of the English items which occurred in the corpus and which, at first sight at least, are difficult to classify as examples of either code-switching or borrowing, there is another factor to be considered which may influence both the way in which one conceptualises a particular item, and whether this item will become an established part of the 'borrowing' language. This factor is the *motivation* behind the use of the foreign word or phrase. A possible motive for 'linguistic infiltration' which first comes to mind is that the speaker does not know, or cannot remember, the appropriate word in the language in which he is communicating. In this case it seems reasonable to suppose that 'spontaneous borrowing' has taken place, due to a need to fill a gap in the speaker's vocabulary. The various reasons for code-switching have already been examined in a former chapter and a discussion of them need not be entered into here. One might remark though that there appears to be some similarity between the motive which has just been mentioned for spontaneous borrowing

and the motivation behind some types of code-switching: a code-switch may occur because the speaker's *interlocutor* does not know, or has forgotten, the meaning of words or phrases in the language in which communication is taking place. Distinguishing the motives of the speaker, however, may be problematic; for example, in the case of the present study my presence during the recording sessions has very likely encouraged a certain amount of English to be used even though the respondents were specifically asked to speak in Moroccan Arabic and to treat me as if they were speaking with another bilingual person. It is, therefore, often difficult, if not sometimes impossible, to be absolutely certain whether or not an item has been used simply for my benefit and is, therefore, to be counted as a code-switch.

I have noted above that the first and second generation Moroccans differ considerably in their linguistic behaviour, and it is helpful to consider them separately here. My impressions are that the second generation were, for the most part, more interested in speaking Arabic 'correctly' than they were in helping me to understand what they said (this is with the possible exception of M.F.A., the oldest son of Z.A. and A.A., who left Morocco when he was eleven and speaks Moroccan Arabic with great fluency). It is likely, therefore, that the isolated English items which they use during the recordings are more often than not 'spontaneous borrowings' motivated by

the deficiencies of their own Arabic vocabulary rather than code-switches which occur in response to my own, perceived incomprehension. As for members of the first generation, who can be assumed to feel at ease when communicating in their own language, one should no doubt treat English items in their speech with more caution. I am well aware that the circumstances in which the recordings took place make it difficult to know sometimes why exactly a person has used an English item when conversing with me; there are, however, some instances in which the meaning of the English word or phrase makes it clear that the speaker has *borrowed* from English to describe some phenomenon of the English speaking world in which he lives (and for which there is no corresponding Arabic term).

It is useful to give some examples of the type of borrowing I mean. The following are some of the phrases which occurred in the corpus: 'hadha lcommunity charge' [THIS THE COMMUNITY CHARGE], 'lpoll tax' [THE POLL TAX], 'lpoll tax law' [THE POLL TAX LAW], 'social security money', 'social workers', 'optin' out' [OPTING OUT], 'mortgage'. All these words and phrases were produced by first generation Moroccans; they describe aspects of contamporary British life for which there are no parallels in Moroccan society.

There are also English items which members of the first

generation employ, and for which corresponding terms in Moroccan Arabic (or other types of Arabic) do exist, but the speaker probably only knows the English and not the Arabic term. Items which are likely to fall into this category are those which are used to describe phenomena common to both Britain and Morocco (or other parts of the Arab world), but which my respondents have only come into contact with *after* they emigrated to Britain. Such words or phrases might include the following which I found in the corpus: 'cash and carry', 'school board', 'satellite' (television), 'international footballer', 'computer engineer', 'martial art'. These words or phrases do not specifically apply to British society or culture but refer to aspects of Moroccan life or life in other Arabic speaking lands as well. It is possible that such terms may have been unknown to my respondents before they came to Britain because they represent phenomena which have only become part of contemporary Arab life fairly recently, for example 'satellite television' and perhaps 'martial art', or because my respondents had little opportunity to use such words in Morocco; one might speculate for instance that the concept of a 'school board' was not one that my respondents would have known when they first came to Britain as young immigrants, most of whom either had no children of their own or only very young children who were not yet attending school.

It is impossible to know for certain which words in the

corpus fall into this category without making a rather detailed investigation, which would involve asking my respondents themselves about each particular item. However, such an investigation would not have been appropriate for this thesis and my remarks here, therefore, must be taken as possible explanations for a few specific items, rather than as definite pronouncements on the status of these items. The data for the present study, however, does provide a useful framework within which one can discuss some of the various tendencies of borrowing. It seems obvious that, as part of a general theory of borrowing, foreign items for which the speaker knows no corresponding term in his native language are among those items which are most likely to become established in the borrowing language; even if the speaker later returns to his country of origin and learns the native word or phrase, he may sometimes prefer to retain the foreign word which he has first learnt.

Before looking at other types of borrowings I would like to make a few brief remarks on the integration of the words which have been cited above. One notes, firstly, that little, or no attempt at assimilation has been made. Besides some degree of phonological interference (which has not been shown here, but involves only partial assimilation to the norms of the native Moroccan Arabic, for example the trilled /r/ in 'security') the only indication of any assimilation is the addition of the

definite article, the prefix /l-/ to some of the items: 'lcommunity charge', 'lpoll tax', 'lpoll tax law'. Furthermore not only is the English plural suffix /-s/ used in 'social workers' (and it is noted that the Moroccan Arabic plural suffixes have not been used at all), but some of my respondents have inserted longer English phrases into their speech than one might have expected; for instance 'lpoll tax law' and 'social security money', where 'law' and 'money' could have been replaced with their Moroccan Arabic equivalents. This latter point is interesting since the insertion of the English words 'law' and 'money' as isolated items can not necessarily be considered spontaneous borrowings, but in 'lpoll tax law' and 'social security money' they can be treated as part of a spontaneously borrowed *phrase* (for which there is no corresponding Moroccan Arabic term) and, therefore, have some chance, albeit a slight one, of becoming a more established part of the native language.

Aleya Rouchdy (1992), in her study of language borrowing in the speech of a group of Arab-Americans living in Dearborn, Michigan, has also remarked that nouns are often "borrowed for items that are new to the immigrants' culture" (1992:40). Many of the borrowed items that she mentions are very well integrated into the borrowing language (that is Lebanese or Palestinian Arabic), for example, the English phrase 'parking lots' was reproduced as 'barkin lottat' by some of her speakers. Although such

items are only integrated in this way by semi-educated speakers, she says (educated speakers tend to insert these phrases into Arabic sentences with either very little or no phonlogical or mophological integration) it is nevertheless striking that my respondents hardly every assimilated English nouns in this way. Amongst the first generation the Moroccan Arabic plural suffix /-āt/ or /-et/ was never used with an English word (that is an English word which they had borrowed since coming to Scotland); amongst the second generation there was one instance in the corpus of this type of language mixture: 'computerāt' (note the presence of /p/, where one would expect the Moroccan Arabic phoneme /b/ in a well-integrated word). There were, however, two English words produced by a member of the first generation (L.O.) which had been incorporated into Moroccan Arabic in such a way that they were very difficult to understand: 'kawlt' ('kilt')[87] and 'lugaw' ('yoga'); but these are exceptions in any case.

The discrepancy between the two communities in this aspect of language behaviour can be accounted for by the size of each group and the extent to which it is 'established'. The Dearborn Arabs in Rouchdy's study can actually be divided into two linguistic communities, one of which traces its roots back to the 1960s (like the Moroccans in

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[87] Which may have been influenced by the Scottish pronunciation of the word.

Edinburgh), the other "is older and well-established" (1992:38). Rouchdy talks of "a neighborhood inhabited primarily by Arab immigrants" (ibid); the two language communities she studies also contain a number of monolingual speakers as well (unlike the Moroccans in Edinburgh) who are likely to affect the extent to which English items are integrated into Arabic, since they are less able to reproduce English phonological patterns so well as a bilingual speaker, nor are they so likely to comprehend fully and, therefore, borrow English morphology (such as the plural suffix /-s/ for instance)[88]. My own respondents[89], on the other hand, constantly speak English to the English speaking majority amongst whom they live, and thus all speakers became accustomed to both the morphology and phonology of the English language. One might remark here that once again the morphological/phonological integration of a recently introduced foreign item would not, by itself, adequately differentiate between borrowing and code-switching since the integration of the item is variable and depends largely on the competence of the speaker in the foreign ('borrowed') language.

Apart from the types of noun which have been mentioned so far here, and which appear to have been borrowed because

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88 Unless they are educated speakers.

89 With the exception of S.M. who does not mix with English speaking people to the same extent.

they fulfil a need in the speaker's vocabulary, there are other types of items that are also present in the corpus and which might perhaps be considered as 'borrowings'. Rouchdy mentions other types of borrowed nouns as well, the first of these being "Nouns borrowed for words that already exist in Arabic but for which the existing word does not convey the same idea as the English noun" (1992:40) (I shall return to this type of borrowing later); and the second are what she calls "Unnecessarily borrowed nouns" (ibid), for which the Arabic equivalent already exists and is, presumably, known to the speaker. The latter type of borrowing would include words such as *id-dor* ('the door') or *ik-kar* ('the car') (ibid). These types of word also appeared in the corpus of the present study, for example: 'meetin'' ('meeting'), 'lplates' (the plates'), 'lparents' ('the parents') and so forth. The first of these items appears to be more integrated into Moroccan Arabic than the latter two examples since the speaker seems to have partially adapted the word to the Arabic phonological pattern by substituting /ng/ with /n/ (one can compare 'barkin lottat' above); on the other hand the items 'plates' and 'parents' are hardly integrated at all into the 'borrowing language' (apart from the use of the definite article /l-/). Items such as these appear fairly often throughout the corpus and are in fact especially difficult to classify as instances of either borrowing or code-switching. As we have already noted the degree to which a foreign item has been phonologically and

morphologically integrated into the native language is, for a number of reasons, not always a reliable means of distinguishing between borrowing and code-switching; in the case of these three words and others in the data like them, classification is particularly problematic, however, because one is not sure of the *motivation* behind their use. (By contrast the items mentioned previously seem to have been motivated by the *need to fill a gap* in the speaker's vocabulary). Thus one cannot be certain whether words such as the three items quoted above are spontaneous borrowings (perhaps motivated by a temporary loss of memory for the Arabic word on the part of the speaker, or perhaps motivated by some other factor[90]) or whether the speaker has simply switched code (one reason for this could be because he wishes to help me, or some other person who is present, understand what he is saying). The implication here is that the motivation behind the use of a foreign word or phrase is the most important factor to be considered when one attempts to determine whether the item in question is a borrowing or an instance of code-switching. This in itself has important implications for theories relating to how code-switching and borrowing can be thought to be two distinct phenomena. However, one should make a distinction here between those items which have recently been borrowed into the language and those

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90 One might also consider, for example, the question of *power*: how the most powerful sector of society exerts a force on the less powerful so that the latter adopt the practice and, sometimes the language of the former.

which are well-established, and are 'treated as part of the lexicon': in the case of the latter types of borrowing not only is the integration of the word likely to be more 'complete' but the frequency with which it is used both by individuals and especially the language community as a whole may well make it clear that the item is a borrowing (that a *loan word*) and not an instance of code-switching (without the need for reference to the motivation behind the use of the word in the first place[91]).

There are, in fact (even in these more initial stages of language contact with which this study primarily deals), some English words or phrases in the corpus which are either used by more than one respondent, or occur more than once in the speech of an individual. For example, Z.A. used the word English fairly often during the recordings, this occurring for the most part in the phrase *'b-l*English' ('in English'), which was recorded six times in the data, but also in '*b*-English' and 'by English' (also with the same meaning) which have been recorded as well. I have noted too her use of these phrases when we have not been recording. The frequency with which this first phrase particularly (*'b-l*English') occurs while Z.A. is speaking Arabic would suggest that it has become, to some extent, an established part of her Moroccan Arabic

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91 There is an additional factor here which involves the *attitudes* of the speakers to a particular item and whether *they* consider it as being 'part of the lexicon'.

speech; the Arabic equivalent, *b-lInglizi* also occurs in the data and these phrases are apparently in *free variation*[92]. It is noteworthy that M.F.A. (the son of Z.A.) also used the phrase 'b-lEnglish' in the recording I made with him, which suggests that the phrase is used in communication between mother and son (and perhaps with other members of the family), since it is likely that the phrase was first used by one person and then adopted by the other(s).

There is also perhaps a connection between Z.A.'s use of '*b-l*English' (or *b*-English/'by English') and the context in which this phrase often occurs. In Chapter four, in which some of the motivation behind code-switching was discussed, it was noted that Z.A. attempted to redefine the situation in terms of my need to understand correctly what was being said: thus she switched to English when she addressed her daughter, S.A. ("explain for her!..."), expecting that S.A. would then *also switch to English* and explain to me what her mother had meant (see section 4.1). In her use of the phrase ('*b-l*English', '*b*-English' or 'by English') Z.A. is perhaps unconsciously again attempting to redefine the situation in her desire to be more helpful, in which case the phrase should probably be

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[92] The phonological similarity between the Arabic prepositional prefix /b-/ ('with', 'by') and the English preposition 'by' probably accounts for Z.A.'s incorrect use of 'by' in the English phrase 'by English' (she appears to have translated literally the Arabic phrase *b-lInglizi*).

considered as an instance of code-switching rather than a borrowing; thus one might understand the following utterance which occurred in the corpus and was addressed to M.F.A.:

(137) Z.A.: *ʿatiha lmaʿna b- ... b-l*English! [GIVE HER THE MEANING IN ... IN ENGLISH!]

There are three other utterances in which 'b-lEnglish' is used in a similar context and one involving 'by English'. However, Z.A. also used the phrase in a question addressed to myself:

(138) Z.A.: *šni huwa? ... qul- ... rizq b- b-l*English! [WHAT IS IT? SAY - *RIZQ* IN - IN ENGLISH!]

Note too the following utterance involving 'b-English':

(139) Z.A.: *hada manʿarafuši b-*English! [THIS I DO NOT KNOW (IT) IN ENGLISH!]

Clearly '*b-*English' in the last example (and perhaps '*b-l*English' in item (138) as well) is used in a way which would suggest that it is a borrowing: its use here does not imply the dynamic aspect of code-switching involved in item (137) above because no attempt is being made to redefine the situation. It is possible that Z.A. originally switched to English for this phrase only in contexts similar to that of item (137) above and *thereafter* grew accustomed to using the English (or part-English) phrase in other contexts as a more permanent part of her Moroccan Arabic speech; this would imply that code-switched items can sometimes become borrowings[93].

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93 Heath (1989) discusses a similar idea in his work "From Code-Switching to Borrowing", but he is more interested in the morphological integration of words, and the way

There is another instance in which particular English items appear regularly in the recordings. Three of my respondents, Z.A.,L.O. and S.A. each used the word 'navy'[94] and four people, Z.A.,S.A.,S.O. and M.O. all used the word 'dockyard'. It is important to note that the two words were uttered by these speakers in the *same* context. L.O. and M.O. are two brothers and Z.A. is their sister; S.O. is the wife of L.O. and S.A. is the daughter of Z.A. (these respondents are, therefore, all closely related). These people had been asked about their father (father-in-law) or grandfather and were describing his work in the dockyard in Gibraltar with the British navy. The subject proved highly fertile ground for the spontaneous insertion of English words or phrases. The other items which occurred were: 'driver', 'a British driver' (L.O.), 'f-lBritish dockyard' ('in the British dockyard') (M.O.), 'business' (S.A.) and 'truck' (S.O. and A.O.). One wonders whether these words - or some of these words - had been used by my respondents, or at least known to my respondents, before they came over to Britain; yet they do not appear to be particularly well-integrated loan words, and occurred, for the most part, only in this particular context. It is noteworthy that none of my

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in which (in the case of French and Moroccan Arabic, some code-switched noun phrases and verb forms appear to be assimilated as borrowings into Moroccan Arabic due to "some crucial correspondences (by pure coincidence) in morphemic frames" (1989:40).

94 S.A. may have been influenced by her mother's use of the word 'navy' here since Z.A. was present during the recording of S.A..

respondents were describing what they *themselves* had experienced; what they related to me of their father's (father-in-law) or grandfather's job in the dockyard in Gibraltar must undoubtedly have been passed down to them, either by the father/grandfather or through one or more intermediaries. The use of English words and phrases in this particular context, and by at least five of my respondents independently, suggests that some of these items may also have been used by the father/grandfather who worked in the British dockyard in Gibraltar.

Moroccans who work in Gibraltar with English speaking people are indeed very likely to learn many English words. Perhaps they had to learn some English terms as a condition of working with English colleagues and managers. It might also be suggested that some of these workers retained certain English words, which they relayed to their family and friends when describing their life or work in that place. This could be one explanation for why so many of my respondents inserted English items here, and also explains why some of these items were used by more than one person. This is an interesting idea since, if it is correct, it would contribute to the study of how foreign words or phrases might possibly enter a language: that is, people may have retold the description of their father's/grandfather's work in Gibraltar in terms similar to those in which they first heard it, and the foreign (English) words were, therefore, transmitted from one

person to another[95]. There is a problem with this, however, in that people's use of the foreign terms seems to be restricted, largely, to this *one* context. The data would have to provide evidence of a more wide-spread use of such items before one could detect any sign that they are becoming a more established part of these respondents' Moroccan Arabic speech. As I pointed out above neither are these items at all well integrated: 'a British driver' is in fact more like an instance of code-switching than a borrowing and should probably be counted as such[96]. It seems fairly clear, however, that these particular respondents of mine felt that the use of English was appropriate, to some degree, in the description of their father's/grandfather's job in Gibraltar; the recurrence of certain English items in the data suggests that some borrowing has taken place and that certain items are, at least a *semi-established* part of some of my respondents' Moroccan Arabic speech.

One of the items mentioned in this connection did actually appear in the recordings of two respondents in other contexts. One of these respondents was Z.A., who said:

(140) Z.A.: *maʿandīši* business *f-d:ar* ... [I DO NOT HAVE (ANY) BUSINESS AT HOME ...]

Z.A. was explaining here that when she does not have any

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95 This also tells one something about the way in which information is passed on.

96 This is because the indefinite article 'a' is unlikely to be borrowed, even when it qualifies an English noun.

work to do at home she is able to put on her long Moroccan clothes and relax. The other respondent who also inserted the word 'business' was S.M.:

(141) S.M.: *ken* er business - er *ybiʿ... biʿ ... biʿoo yšri* [HE WAS (or IT WAS) BUSINESS - HE SELLS ... SELLS ... SELLS AND BUYS]

S.M.'s father (who is no relation of the six respondents who have just been discussed) used to 'buy and sell' farm produce. The word 'business' is actually listed in one of the appendices given by Heath in his study on borrowing in Moroccan Arabic. The word (variously reproduced as */bznas/*, */biznis/*, or */bznas/*, depending on the region in which the speaker lives) is commonly used to mean 'drug dealer,' 'racketeer', but may also mean, less commonly 'businessman' (Heath (1989:267)). This second sense accords very well with the meaning of S.M.'s utterance above, and 'ken business' may be considered really to be 'ken biznis', that is, 'he was a businessman'. S.M. seems to be using a borrowing here which is already part of some varieties of Moroccan Arabic *in Morocco*. The pronunciation she uses (/biznis/) is, according to Heath, that which is used in the Meknes area; although her family comes from a small village, which is somewhat nearer to Ribat than Meknes, this latter city is nonetheless closer to her village than either Fes or Marrakech (the two regions where the other two variants of the word are in use).

As for Z.A., who comes from Tangier, not only does Heath

not mention any recording of */biznis/* and its variants in the Northern parts of Morocco, but the meanings he lists for this item are not consistent with Z.A.'s use of the word: *maʿandiši business f-d:ar.* Z.A. may have spontaneously inserted this English item here, but it is also possible that this word is a more permanent part of her particular Moroccan Arabic speech (while it does not appear to be used with the same meaning in any varieties of Moroccan Arabic spoken in Morocco). It is noteworthy that S.A., Z.A.'s daughter, when describing her grandfather's work in the dockyard in Gibraltar, also used the word in the same sense: *kanʿandu lbusiness dyalu* ('he had his business'). The occurrence of this item in the Moroccan Arabic speech of both the mother and the daughter suggests that the word may be a fairly stable borrowing in this case, rather than being spontaneously inserted by each of these two respondents. The word in this sense may originally have been used by some of the Moroccans who worked in Gibraltar and who relayed it to their families on their return home; alternatively, this may be a word Z.A. first learnt when she came to Britain and which she herself adopted as a useful word when speaking Moroccan Arabic (perhaps she then transmitted this word to S.A. as part of her Moroccan Arabic or S.A. herself introduced this word into her mother's Moroccan Arabic). It is possible too that Z.A. and S.A. have been influenced by people's use of the loanword */biznis/* and its variants, but that neither of them has assimilated any of the

correct meanings of this borrowing (it is noted that Z.A. used the isolated English word 'businessman' during one of the recordings).

It seems clear, in any case from the contexts in which this word appears in the corpus, that Z.A. and S.M. attribute to this word two distinct meanings, and in the case of Z.A. one might anticipate some confusion were the word to arise in a conversation between herself and a Moroccan from one of those regions where */biznis/* and its variants are used in the same sense in which S.M. seems to use the word, 'businessman', or with the more common, but quite different meaning mentioned above: 'drug-dealer'/'racketeer'.

6.1.1 Semantic Patterns of Borrowings

This section will briefly examine the extent to which the isolated English items I have noted in the corpus can be categorised according to semantic patterns. Heath has also written on semantic patterns in borrowings (1989:160-177) and discusses a variety of domains, some of which have been influenced very much by 'recent'[97] Classical Arabic and European borrowings, others show very little sign of any such infiltration. What he classifies as 'kin terms', 'human category terms', 'body parts and other

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97 Presumably 'recent borrowings' refers to those words which entered Moroccan Arabic during the Protectorate period (1912-1956) and after that period.

inalienables' and 'ecological vocabulary' have been largely unaffected by recent borrowings from Classical Arabic or French or Spanish. The domains which show the greatest number of such borrowings seem to be those concerned with 'professions and business establishments', 'education', 'the military', 'implements and consumer items', 'automobile parts', 'sports and card games', 'personal characteristics and behaviour' and 'slang and affective speech'. Apart from the latter two categories in this list, the semantic distribution of borrowings, in this way, is probably what one would have expected. The first three domains, at least, contain terms that are so fundamental to humans and human society that new borrowings are likely to be rare[98]; as for 'ecological vocabulary', Heath observes that "European borrowings occur in connection with recently introduced species (mostly vegetables and fruit)" (1989:169) but otherwise the old Moroccan Arabic forms predominate. This is not surprising either if one considers the seemingly persistent and timeless qualities of man's natural environment, that is "topographic zones, physical features and floral fauna" (ibid), which can hardly encourage the introduction of new borrowings into a language. Heath does, however, cite some items that are probably recent

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98 Heath also examines a 'core' vocabulary of verbs, "the sort which usually show up on lexicostatistical lists" (1989:161) and finds that these basic words (such as 'eat', 'drink', 'sleep', 'go' etc) are all native Moroccan Arabic forms (although there is evidence of some synonymous borrowings from French these borrowings are very rare).

Classical Arabic borrowings: the word for 'island', for instance, and generic terms such as 'animal', 'fruit' and 'vegetables'; the Moroccan Arabic word for 'ground' or 'earth' (*/lrd/*) may have been *reclassicized* as */(l-)ʔrd/*[99] (ibid). Yet the motivation for new Classical Arabic borrowings cannot be the same as that which lies behind the adoption of European words (and this is a point which Heath does not make clear). One would certainly be surprised were one to find recent French or Spanish borrowings for words such as 'island', 'animal' and so forth because they would seem to be 'unnecessary'[100]. On the other hand, the influence on Moroccan Arabic from Classical Arabic (in the form of new borrowings, reclassicization or semantic extension) is less surprising and perhaps inevitable considering the close linguistic parallels between the two languages; and this influence is further increased by the importance of Classical Arabic in certain sections of Moroccan society and the positive attitudes of many people towards it (indeed there is a conscious effort on the part of some people to bring Moroccan Arabic nearer to the classical/standard language).

As for European borrowings, these abound in those domains

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[99] The symbol/ʔ/ represents here a glottal stop.

[100] Heath found some French/Spanish items relating to the sea. Apparently the 'nautical domain' has attracted a number of French/Spanish borrowings but Heath does not discuss the reasons for this.

in which European influence is greatest; thus one can account for the introduction of French and Spanish borrowings (and some from other European languages as well) into the domains mentioned by Heath which were cited above. Heath finds it natural that French, Spanish and English words are now used in Moroccan Arabic for "modern or modernized professions" (ibid:165), some borrowings in this domain also compete with native Moroccan Arabic words, as in the case of those professions or trades that "are exercised sometimes in all-native environments, at other times in "European" contexts" (ibid) ('European contexts' refers here to the "European part of a major city" (ibid)). The use of French in the realm of education is probably one of the least surprising aspects of the semantic patterns of borrowings that has emerged, since this language has had an important influence on Moroccan education, not only because it is widely studied but because it has long been used as one of the languages of instruction in many schools and universities. Similarly, one may readily find reasons for European borrowings in domains such as the military (close contacts between the French army and the indigenous population during the early part of the protectorate, the introduction of new weaponry, military organisation etc. (ibid:167)) and in the domain of 'implements and consumer items' (Heath writes that "This is an area where many European ... borrowings have become established as the regularly used terms for most of the more modern items"

(ibid:168)).

The introduction of European words in connection with 'automobiles' and in the domains of sport and card games might also be explained by European influence in these areas, although Heath does not put forward any explanation for these borrowings, apart from the fact that some English soccer terms are transmitted to Morocco via Egyptian television and radio broadcasts. The slang words (including words for 'personal characteristics and behaviour') of European (mainly French) origin that have been noted by Heath are less easily explained; Heath gives us no satisfactory account for why these borrowings have occurred and I do not intend to examine here what may well be a relatively complex process of linguistic infiltration. For the present it is sufficient to remark that 'slang' is a rather special part of the lexicon of a language and no doubt involves its own special process of borrowing. Furthermore, slang words do not occur in the tape-recordings with my respondents and shall not, therefore, be considered in the discussion of my data which follows.

6.1.2 Discussion of my Data

The corpus for the present study does not allow for a discussion of the wide variety of subjects dealt with by Heath. One reason for this is that my collection of data

was limited to a small number of respondents (fourteen people) who were recorded in an 'interview-like' situation which was structured to some extent by topics introduced by myself. More importantly, the influence of English on the language of Moroccan immigrants in Britain is very different to the influence of European languages on Moroccan Arabic spoken in Morocco; not only have Moroccans in their home country been subjected to such an influence for a considerably greater number of years (the French and Spanish 'protectorates' date back to 1912) but this influence seems to strike at the very cornerstones of Moroccan society: trade, education and the military (religion, as one would expect, does not seem to be affected by such linguistic interference)[101]. The large number of borrowings in these areas reflect the extent of European influence and domination in Morocco. As for my respondents only rather indistinct patterns have emerged, when I have attempted to group the English words they use into semantic categories. I do not mean to imply that Moroccan immigrants in Britain lead lives relatively unaffected by the influences of British society. Rather English has a limited (or different) effect on their language. One should also differentiate here, of course, between the first and second generation Moroccan immigrants (just as this has always been an important point for consideration throughout this study). The

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[101] According to Heath's study new borrowings do not seem to have occurred in the domain 'politics' either.

second generation Moroccans, who were born in Scotland (or came to Scotland as young children) have grown up speaking English as their first language[102]. They have acquired Moroccan Arabic through their parents (and other Moroccan Arabic speakers they know in Edinburgh) and also from family and friends in Morocco whom they visit during their holidays. Because they have not been brought up in Morocco and have very little or no contact with certain sections of Moroccan society, there are, no doubt, a number of domains (such as 'trade', 'education', 'the military', for example, but many others too) for which their knowledge of Moroccan Arabic is either very weak or virtually non-existent. When one discusses the effect of English on the Moroccan Arabic of my respondents, therefore, one cannot equate the influence on the language of the first generation with that on the language of the children, since Moroccan Arabic is the parents' but not the children's native tongue. As far as borrowings are concerned the second generation Moroccans are likely to insert English words into Moroccan Arabic for a far broader range of items (covering a greater variety of topics) than their parents.

These differences in the language proficiency of the first and second generations also mean that comparisons between Heath's respondents and my own should be made with

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[102] With the possible exception of M.F.A. who came to Britain when he was eleven years old.

reference to my first generation respondents, rather than the second generation, so that one might then compare two groups of *native* speakers of Moroccan Arabic. There is still one important difference, however, namely, that my respondents live in an English speaking environment, whereas Heath's do not. I mentioned above that European languages (namely French and Spanish) have deeply affected the Moroccan Arabic spoken in Morocco, reflecting the extent of European influence in that country; but, although my respondents live as a minority within an English speaking society and depend thereon for their livelihood, children's education and many other necessities, I have the impression that the influence of the English language on their Arabic is, so far, relatively limited. The effect of English on the Arabic of my respondents (that is the first generation as opposed to the second generation Moroccans whom I will disregard for the present) differs not only in the degree of morphological/phonological integration of the English items they insert, but also in the extent to which English items have been introduced into specific areas of the lexicon. Thus there are no domains for which my respondents seem to use an impressively large proportion of English words (apart from the highly specialized context of a grandfather's work in Gibraltar, which I discussed in the previous section and which is hardly comparable to general domains such as 'education', 'professions and business establishments' and so forth).

Although there is evidence of some sort of semantic patterning in the English words used by both my first and second generation respondents, which I shall examine in due course, any patterns that have emerged are not striking.

One reason for this discrepancy in these two language groups is that Moroccan immigrants in Edinburgh are able to return to their home country regularly (usually once a year) where they may 'revive' their language; in other words the English words and phrases they might use when speaking with other Moroccan immigrants in Edinburgh, or to their children, have to be omitted when they communicate with Moroccans who do not know any English (or who would not understand the use of English items in this way). Naturally, there are occasions when my respondents forget and slip in an English word or phrase by accident. One of my respondents, S.M., told me how perplexed her mother was when she inadvertently used the word 'okay' when speaking with her on the telephone one day (in Moroccan Arabic *waxa* is normally used). Regular communication with family and friends in Morocco has a modifying effect on the influence of English on my respondents' Arabic and discourages the English items they use from becoming a more permanent feature of their language. Moroccans in Morocco, on the other hand, have no external, 'standard' language to which they can refer.

However, this is only one factor which affects the way in which English influences my respondents' Moroccan Arabic. The situation of Moroccans in Edinburgh is further complicated due to the presence of a fairly large number of immigrants from other parts of the Arab world (as I describe in the introduction to this thesis) and this too seems to play its part in regulating the effect of English on my respondents' language, at least to some degree. Although the Moroccan immigrants have formed their own group, with a strong Moroccan identity, they do mix with the other Arabs who have also come to live in Edinburgh; these Arabic speakers, together with visiting Arab friends, students, businessmen (whom my respondents may meet in people's homes or at the mosque, for example) combine to help counteract the influences of English speaking society, and the pressures exerted on the parents by their children to speak English. It is interesting to remark that whilst visitors from Morocco help to maintain the *Moroccan* dialect, a number of words from other Arabic dialects are used by some of my respondents. Sometimes these items are picked up by the second generation who treat them as part of Moroccan Arabic: when S.O. and her family returned to Morocco for a summer holiday one year, her mother was surprised to hear her grandson (A.O.) tell her *"ăyz* juice!" ("I want juice!"); the grandmother understood neither 'juice' nor *ʿayz*, which is an Egyptian word, but the child had assumed that both words were Moroccan Arabic and were, therefore, intelligible to his

grandmother.

The factors which have just been mentioned probably help to restrict the number of English borrowings which become an established part of my respondents' Moroccan Arabic, but they do not, by themselves, explain why I have not found, as Heath did, clearly defined semantic patterns in the English items that my respondents choose to insert. I think that this latter point is partly explained by the fact that Moroccans in Edinburgh are *immigrants* and, moreover, form an exceedingly small group. Heath found many French/Spanish borrowings in a few specific domains because these domains were precisely where French/Spanish domination had its greatest impact. Furthermore, the heavy borrowing into some of the domains noted by Heath was undoubtedly encouraged and maintained, to a large degree, by 'official use' and thus the new words also gained considerable legitimacy. English cannot possibly affect my respondents' Arabic in the same way: Moroccan institutions (such as education or the military) have not 'travelled' with Moroccan immigrants to Britain, thus they remain untouched by British influence (at least no such influence is exerted in these areas as a direct consequence of Moroccan immigrants living in Britain). It was shown above how my respondents have borrowed words and phrases in order to describe certain specifically British institutions (for example, 'community charge') and such words are unlikely to be replaced by equivalent terms from

Moroccan Arabic; yet there is no reason why my respondents should insert numerous new borrowings into domains such as 'education', 'business and trade' etc. rather than any other domain. One would expect that if there are particular domains for which my respondents use a greater number of English words these will be those areas where there is a concentration of concepts which people consider to be unfamiliar, or in some way 'different'.

The few rather indistinct patterns which seem to have emerged in the type of English words my respondents introduce into Moroccan Arabic shall now briefly be examined, bearing in mind that the data upon which my observations are based are somewhat limited in comparison to Heath's, with respect to the number of people taking part in my study.

6.1.2.1 Place-Names, Languages and Nationality

It seems hardly necessary to observe that proper names (names of places, books or films, for example) are easily adopted, very often with little change in phonology. It is perhaps noteworthy, however, that some of the first generation used English words for *Arabic* place-names, thus both S.M. and Z.A. said 'Casablanca' instead of *Dar Bayḍa* and Z.A. said 'Egypt' for *Maṣr* (although both respondents did also use the Arabic names at other times). Names of countries outside the Arab world were also sometimes given

in English, that is: France, Scotland, Britain and America. The second generation were found to give the English, rather than the Arabic word, for a place-name far more often than their parents. There occurred in the corpus the following English words for the names of various countries or continents: America, Australia, Scotland, France, Africa, Japan; and one town: Casablanca. English and other non-Arabic words were also used to denote languages or people. Some of the first generation used the words 'English', 'British', American', 'French' and 'German'; the second generation used words such as 'Francais'/'le Francais', 'Fransi', 'Ingliza', Spani' and 'Australian'. I shall discuss the use of English in this context later, but first there are some other borrowings I should like to mention beforehand.

6.1.2.2 Clothing

Heath recorded a particularly large number of borrowings for the domain 'implements and consumer items', which are to be found in one of the appendices of his book. He mentions specifically that words were found for clothing, basic tools and kitchen utensils. I too found some of the words that he mentioned in connection with 'clothing', such as *sb:at* ('shoe' or 'pair of shoes'); Heath writes of this borrowing that it is "part of a cognate set including Sp[anish] Zapato, Fr[ench] sabot" (1989:311). This was a word commonly used by my respondents. Heath also mentions

the word *falda* from Spanish *falda* ('skirt') (ibid:186), which I found in my data too. I also found *xarsiya* ('jumper') from Spanish *jersey*, *činikel* ('slippers')[103] and *spurgata* ('trainers')[104] These words were used by families from Tangier and Heath having concentrated more on the Arabic dialects spoken in the central and more southern regions of Morocco (Meknes, Fes, Marrakech) did not include them. The word *muda* ('fashion'), however, appeared both in my corpus and in Heath's book. Heath writes that it is from French *mode*, Spanish *moda* (ibid:297); it was attested in my data as part of a phrase *axir muda* ('the latest fashion'). Apart from these items which are undoubtedly relatively well-established borrowings which people also use in Morocco, I found what appear to be some new English insertions: 'suit', 'lkilt' ('(the) kilt') or 'kawlt' (also 'kilt'), 'jeans', 'skirt' and 'short' (that is 'shorts'). Heath writes, in explanation for the European borrowings which he found in this connection, that "In such domains as clothing there is a fairly sharp difference between a traditional set of MCA [Moroccan Colloquial Arabic] terms for old types of garment ... and a set of mostly Fr[ench] borrowings ... for more modern European-type garments" (ibid:168). This is also a likely explanation for the types of English items I have found here, and also explains why there seems

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103 I could not trace the origin of *činikel*.

104 Perhaps from the English word 'spur' or even from the English football team, Tottenham Hotspurs.

to be a number of borrowings in this particular domain. Naturally, my respondents distinguish between traditional Moroccan dress and modern European dress and, in the case of the latter, need to use European borrowings for those items for which there is no Moroccan Arabic or Classical Arabic equivalent. It is interesting to note that for some of the English words cited above there is either a corresponding Classical Arabic word (for example, *badla* for 'suit') or a corresponding European word (Spanish *falda* or French *zuppa* for 'skirt') but my respondents have chosen in these instances to insert an English word. It is not clear why they should do this; perhaps my respondents have grown so accustomed to some English words that these are the first which spring to mind.

6.1.2.3 Food

I also found a few borrowings for food. Some of these are obviously the names by which the food is known generally and do not need translating, for example, 'spaghetti'. Other terms are borrowed by my respondents to signify a special type of food which is not of Moroccan origin, such as: 'filo pastry' and 'Spanish omelette'. Apart from these words, the most common borrowings I noted in this domain were 'juice' and 'sauce' ('sauce in the data denoted the gravy made from the meat, 'juice' may denote both 'fruit juice' and the juices which run from the meat when it is cooked).

6.1.2.4 Transport

I noted some English words connected with transport. The word 'transport' itself was used by some of my respondents; the word is apparently in use in Moroccan Arabic spoken in Morocco, but is pronounced *ṭrɑ̃spuṛ* and comes from the French (Heath (ibid:319)). The fact that I recorded the English pronunciation of the word suggests that either the original French borrowing has undergone phonological change, by analogy with the English word, or the word is a completely new borrowing from English and the existence of French *transport* in Moroccan Arabic is coincidental. Perhaps the latter of these suggestions is more likely since Heath only reports the use of the French borrowing in Fes and yet it was a respondent from Tangier whom I recorded using the word. A word which poses a problem similar to 'transport', also occurred in the data, that is: 'trains' (only the plural form was attested). This was used by a second generation Moroccan (M.F.A.) whose family come from Tangier. Heath reports that in Tetouan, and in northern Morocco generally, people use the word *tren* from Spanish *tren*, or a variant *tran*, perhaps from French *train* (ibid:317). One would expect that M.F.A. has at least heard of, if not actually used, such a word, which must be commonplace in Tangier, and that, therefore, the European borrowing has influenced him in his choice of this particular English word. Why he should borrow from English here, instead of using the

French/Spanish borrowing is not clear, however. Another word, connected with transport, appeared in my data for which Heath also records a similar term. This word is 'bus' and is pronounced in the English way. I also recorded 'buses', *'b-l*bus' ('by bus') and *'b-l*buses' ('by buses'). Heath lists the words *ṭubis* and *ṭaybus*, 'local bus' (from French *autobus*, Spanish *autobús*) (ibid:320). Again the English word in my data may be borrowed directly from the english (particularly since, according to Heath, in the northern parts of Morocco *trumbiya* is the usual word for 'local bus' (ibid) and those people I have heard use the word 'bus' were from Tangier in the north); or it is possible that my respondents (from Tangier) have been influenced by the French/Spanish loan word (*ṭubis* or *ṭaybus*) and have chosen to use the English word because it is similar to a word they know of already, but perhaps do not use themselves.

In addition to these borrowings there occurred in this domain the words 'coach' and 'car'. The word 'car' was spoken by one of the second generation (M.F.A. again) and came immediately after he had said the Classical Arabic word *sayyāra* ('car') and the European borrowing *tunobir* (also 'car' from French *automobile*, Spanish *automóvil*, see Heath (1989:321)). Possibly M.F.A. used 'car' as an explanation for me of the meanings of the previous two words and it should, therefore, be considered as an instance of code-switching. It is possible too, however,

that M.F.A. (who very rarely code-switched during the recordings) is actually using the French borrowing *kar* (also in order that I might understand him better) but has confused the English meaning of the word 'car' and the meaning which is signified by the normal use of the word in Moroccan Arabic, which, according to Heath is 'intercity bus' (ibid:281). Although the word 'coach' was not used by this particular respondent during the recordings (but was uttered by his mother, Z.A.) it is possible that some people (especially the family of M.F.A.) have begun to differentiate between a car and an intercity bus by using the English words 'car' and 'coach', instead of the established borrowings *tunobir* (and its variants) and *kar*.

6.1.2.5 Work

Some words appeared relatively frequently in the data because they are used to describe people's work. The most frequent of these were *ristora* ('restaurant') and *util* ('hotel'), both of which are established borrowings in Moroccan Arabic and listed by Heath in an appendix to his book. It is worth mentioning, however, that although *ristora* was more commonly used, some of the children used another version of the word: *restran, restrã* and *restrãnt* (all are common pronunciations of the english word 'restaurant'). People also used the words 'catering', 'chef', 'manager', 'headwaiter', 'chambermaid', *mise en*

place ('setting' at a table) and *kliyan* ('customer'), in connection with their work (or their father's work) in hotels and restaurants. Heath does not in fact mention the French phrase *mise en place* in his book and may consider it to be a code-switch rather than a borrowing (as it is taken to be here). It is noted that 'chef' has not been mentioned by Heath either, and is probably an English borrowing. *Kliyan*, however, is noted by him and probably comes from French *client* (ibid:284)[105].

S.O., who used to work in a biscuit factory on the outskirts of Edinburgh used some English words to help her describe her work as well: *'masnaᶜ* lbiscuit' ('biscuit factory'), *'l*biscuit' ('the biscuit'), 'machine', 'chocolate', 'fridge', 'packet' and 'skillet'. The domain 'work' has proved to be one of the most fertile grounds for the introduction of English words into Moroccan Arabic. It is striking that the context of a father's/grandfather's work in Gibraltar (discussed above) also seemed to encourage the use of several English items. Words and phrases that are used at work to denote specific aspects of one's job, or work environment, seem to be retained by people when they describe their employment - even if they have stopped working (as with S.O. above): it seems that these words are so very intimately connected with their job, that people are reluctant to use other

[105] The use of French words in this connection may be influenced by the fairly prominent role of French in the language of 'food' in English speaking society.

terms from Arabic. It is noteworthy too that the words I have cited in this connection are all nouns (as are all the borrowings I have mentioned so far). This tells one something of the way in which people might conceptualise their work, or place of work; that is their mental picture of 'work' may largely consist of a number of significant objects - or people - associated with it (thus, in the case of S.O., the word 'biscuit' appeared eight times in the description of her work in the factory)[106].

6.1.2.6 School

The domain 'school' was another area for which people used a few English words. *Klas* ('class') from French *class* (Spanish *clase*) (Heath ibid:284) is already in use in Moroccan Arabic, but Heath has only noted it in the areas of Fes, Meknes and Marrakech and not in the north of Morocco. Furthermore, he writes that it is less common than Classical Arabic *qism* (ibid). I have also recorded the word, but both of the people who uttered it are from Tangier and, therefore, may have borrowed the word from English (since the French/Spanish borrowing does not seem to be in use in Tangier). 'Primary two' and 'fourth

106 It should be pointed out that some of the words used by S.O. are very similar to borrowings already in Moroccan Arabic: my respondents tell me that *biskawit* ('biscuit') is used in Moroccan Arabic (although Heath does not mention this word). In addition Heath lists *s̄klat* ('chocolate') and variants, *frizidir* ('refrigerator') and *bakiya* ('packet'); *maš̄ina* ('train') is also used in central Morocco.

year'/'fifth year' were also recorded and 'homework' was noted four times in the data. Apart from these words English was used by the children for one or two subjects taken at school: 'drama' and 'computer' Other school subjects were given by the second generation either in French or in Arabic, for example *le Français* ('French'), *le géographie* ('geography'), *le gymnastique* ('gymnastics'); and Arabic *ž̄ugrafiya* ('geography') (itself an established European borrowing). Apart from the last of these items, *ž̄ugrafiya*, these words indicate an inability on the part of the speaker to find the correct Moroccan Arabic term; perhaps he chooses to *switch* to French here rather than use English because he is aware of the French influence in Moroccan Arabic especially in the domain of education.

6.1.3 Borrowings for Culture-Specific Concepts

In the previous section I examined some of the patterns I have noted when the English borrowings from the data were put into semantic categories (there are, of course, many words that have been left out of the discussion above, simply because they do not seem to be part of any obvious semantic trend). In this section I shall discuss more thoroughly some of the motivation behind the use of a few of these borrowings.

Aleya Rouchdy (1992) remarked that nouns are sometimes

borrowed "for words that already exist in Arabic but for which the existing word does not convey the same idea as the English noun" (1992:40). She gives as examples, *is-sitizen* ('citizen') and *il-livin ruum* ('living room') (ibid), but since she is more interested in 'linguistic aspects of borrowing' here, she does not discuss the motivation for this type of borrowing any further. The use of the two English words she mentions is particularly interesting in fact because they tell one something about the way in which cultural influences can colour an individual's perception of certain objects or concepts. To Rouchdy's Arab-American respondents a 'citizen' in America would probably not mean the same thing as a 'citizen' in Palestine or Lebanon; similarly an American 'living room' would appear to be quite distinct from the type of 'living room' they are used to in their home countries.

This idea also suggests an explanation for the use of English in my data for certain place-names[107]. As I noted before Z.A. and S.M. both mentioned 'Casablanca', the English name for *Dar Bayḍa*; and furthermore Z.A. spoke of 'Egypt' rather than using the Arabic name *Maṣr*. This

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[107] It was mentioned above that both the first and second generation respondents used English words in this connection, however, only the first generation will be considered here since it is difficult to determine whether the second generation borrowed from English because they *do not know* the Moroccan Arabic word, or whether they chose an English word for some other reason.

surprised me because there did not seem to be any reason why they should use the English and not the Arabic names here. It is helpful to look at the contexts in which these words were uttered. Z.A. mentions Casablanca twice when she describes where she has been in Morocco and once when she cites it as one of those Moroccan cities tourists like to see (the other cities she lists are given in Moroccan Arabic: *Agadir, Marakeš* and *Ifren*, but they do not have alternative English names in any case). S.M. mentioned the place when trying to locate Jadida, a small town. As for S.M. she may have wished to make it clear to me where in Morocco this place was situated and, therefore, mentioned 'Casablanca' since the place is famous and the Spanish name internationally well-known, so it was likely that I would have heard of it). Perhaps a similar reason lies behind Z.A.'s use of this name. However, it seems to me that Z.A. had another reason and that this is connected with the way in which one's perception of a place varies according to the associations one makes with it: 'Casablanca' and *Dar Bayḍa*, although in one way they are two names for one town, in another way perhaps symbolise for Z.A. two rather different types of place. *Dar Bayḍa* may conjure up images of a town like any other big town in Morocco, but 'Casablanca' has connotations, encouraged by the British media, of fame and glamour and of a wonderful holiday resort to boot (and I have the impression that it is a place of which Z.A. is rather proud). This is possibly why Z.A. mentions

'Casablanca' when she describes the places she has been to and, more to the point, the places in Morocco which tourists especially come to see[108].

It is possible to see Z.A.'s use of English 'Egypt' rather than Arabic *Maṣr* in a similar light. Z.A. had mentioned Egypt when I asked her which country she would most like to visit. Again I have the impression that the two words ('Egypt' and *Maṣr*), although superficially signifying the same country, in reality each have distinct associations for Z.A. which the Arabic name does not have. Egypt is still well-known, in Britain and in other countries, as a most desirable holiday location and is portrayed as an 'exotic' and perhaps mysterious place to visit (this may be one reason in fact why Z.A. wishes to see it)[109]. In the English speaking environment in which Z.A. finds herself the name *Maṣr* is, of course, hardly mentioned or not mentioned at all in this connection and probably does not, therefore, have the same connotations as the name 'Egypt'. When Z.A. uses the name 'Egypt' she possibly has

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[108] Z.A. also mentions *Dar Bayḍa* along with 'Casablanca' as a place which she has seen; but only 'Casablanca' is mentioned when she lists the various tourist resorts.

[109] It is interesting to note that others of my respondents have at times also intimated a desire to see this country and have expressed their admiration for certain aspects of Egyptian culture, such as Egyptian Arabic or the type of food eaten in Egypt, or its ancient civilization (mentioned in the Qur'an). It is also noteworthy that Egyptians *themselves* very often express pride in their culture and particularly in their language (more so, it sometimes seems, than other Arabs for their respective cultures).

in mind the kind of place portrayed on one of the holiday programmes shown on the television, and is thinking of a wonderful place to go for a holiday, whereas *Maṣr*, on the other hand, would simply not seem so exciting.

There were other English words in the data (discussed in a previous chapter dealing with *code-switching*) which might also have been used instead of a Moroccan Arabic word for similar reasons. I mentioned the Moroccan Arabic word *sbitar* ('hospital') and the way in which S.M. inserted a half-anglicised equivalent term (*hospitar*) when she talked of a British hospital (see section 4.2.1). It seemed as though she had made a distinction between Moroccan and British hospitals and that she needed two distinct words to describe them. I also pointed out, in the same section, that S.M.'s choice of the term 'nursing home' presumably was used to evoke certain associations which a corresponding Arabic word such as *malja'* would not have conveyed. Distinguishing between the type of borrowings which I have just mentioned and a metaphorical code-switch becomes virtually impossible when one deals with such words; it was precisely because the associations connected with 'nursing home' seemed to lend S.M.'s words extra force that I treated her choice of the term to be a code-switch and yet, in a different context the word may have been used (although I have not heard it) quite simply to distinguish a culture-specific concept.

It may be more appropriate, however, to regard some of the English words noted in the "semantic patterns of borrowings" above as, in fact, code-switches rather than borrowings. I was struck by the way in which some words and not others were spoken in English: 'France', 'Scotland', 'Britain', 'America', 'English', 'British', 'American', 'French' and 'German' (all were uttered by the first generation). Although some of these were also spoken in Arabic at other times, it is striking that these countries, languages or peoples are northern European or American. I did not find words such as 'Morocco', 'Moroccan', 'Spain' or 'Spanish' although these countries and people were frequently mentioned. The use of the words 'Egypt' and 'Casablanca' were exceptions, but they have been discussed above. I noticed that one respondent (Z.A.) was fairly consistent in this use of English and Arabic. In one of the recordings I made with her, it seems significant that Z.A. switches code when she mentions two north European languages:

(142) Z.A.: *ʿandha katkel:am b-lʿArabi aw S:panyi* [SHE CAN SPEAK ARABIC AND SPANISH] and English and German

It is not so obvious that she *switches code* in the following example:

(143) Z.A.: *nes kiyẓu f-ṣ:iyf min Fransa aw min ... German aw min Spanya* [PEOPLE COME IN THE SUMMER FROM FRANCE OR FROM ... GERMANY OR FROM SPAIN]

or in the next example:

(144) Z.A.: *kanimši min er Scotland min baʿd Britain aw min baʿda Britain er Fransa min baʿda Fransa Spanya ʿad kandaxl lMaɣarib* [I GO FROM SCOTLAND THEN BRITAIN AND AFTER BRITAIN FRANCE AFTER FRANCE SPAIN THEN I ENTER

MOROCCO][110]

Many of the respondents have remarked upon the differences between 'north' and 'south', particularly with regard to France and Spain: "*Spanya oo Mayarib ... ʿandum lḥayet kif kif*!" ("Spain and Morocco have the same life!") for example, and "*Spanya taxtalif ʿala Fransa katir*" ("Spain is very different to France"). This particular respondent (Z.A.) does not use the words 'France' or 'French', but her switch to English for 'German', 'English', 'Scotland' and 'Britain' can be interpreted as a means by which she might, perhaps unconsciously, express her feeling that northern countries and southern countries are somehow 'different'. Perhaps she feels that France is far south enough to be included with Spain and Morocco in her mental map of the southern regions[111]. However, this may be, I feel that her use of English in *all* three examples I have just quoted (items (142)-(144)) is code-switching rather than borrowing, because it seems to be a subtle (metaphorical) way of differentiating between northern and southern Europe. Z.A.'s choice of words such as 'Britain', 'German' and so forth, is not motivated by the same reasons which impel her to speak of 'Egypt' instead of *Maṣr*, or 'Casablanca' instead of *Dar Bayḍa*: in the

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[110]One notes that Z.A. evidently regards 'Britain' to mean simply 'England'.

[111] A number of my respondents did not like France at all, although Z.A. was not one of them as her words clearly indicate: *"Fa ḥata Fransa lḥayet mtaʿhum kayma ḥayet lMayarib"* ("EVEN FRANCE, THEIR LIFE IS LIKE MOROCCAN LIFE").

first case the English word does not indicate a different concept to that implied by the Arabic word, only it provides a new means of expressing what the speaker *feels* about it; in the other case the English and Arabic words actually *represent distinct ideas* in the speaker's mind.

6.2 Foreigner Talk

I will now examine an important characteristic of some of my respondents' language behaviour when they communicate with me, but one which has not yet been addressed in the present study. There is much that could be written on 'foreigner talk' but it would not be appropriate in this thesis so I will make some general observations in connection with my respondents and will then mention a few specific items in the corpus which I feel are of interest. Firstly, my impressions are that in some ways my respondents did not speak to me in a manner commonly associated with foreigner talk; that is, they did not generally speak in a slow exaggerated way or in a particularly loud voice, nor was I struck by any excessive simplification in sentence structure, or deliberate omission of certain words, for example (although I must stress again that these observations are impressionistic). Ferguson and DeBose (1972) mention similar phenomena, often associated with foreigner talk. However, they also list certain other foreigner talk features which did appear in the speech of some of my respondents: repetition

of words, a preference for standard forms rather than the dialect or slang and use of 'foreign' words (1972:104).

As for the standard forms I have noted in my data they are possibly motivated partly by people's desire that I should understand what they are saying (ie. foreigner talk) and partly by the presence of the tape-recorder and the somewhat formal nature of the interaction (for which Standard Arabic would seem appropriate). One respondent, especially (B.S.) used words and phrases from Classical Arabic during the recording, presumably for the reasons which I have just mentioned. For example, when I played the recording back to him he was surprised but pleased to hear himself say on the tape "*ana aʿtadhar*" ("I apologise") which, he explained, was 'pure Arabic' and would normally be used by a 'high-class person' on a very formal occasion. Others of my respondents also used some Classical Arabic during the recordings, such as S.O., who said: "*law ruḥt hunek yimkin aruḥ azur makːa*" ("If I went there perhaps I would go and visit Mecca"); *aruḥ* ('I go') and *azur* ('I visit') are both Classical Arabic forms: the prefix /*a-*/ replaces Moroccan Arabic /*n-*/. It is striking that S.O. switches to Classical Arabic when she mentions visiting Mecca; the use of Classical Arabic here seems to give her words special significance, which is not only explained by 'foreigner talk', or the formality of the situation in general, but surely must be connected with the 'importance' she associates with visiting Mecca (and

in this sense her use of Classical Arabic can be thought of as metaphorical).

Undoubtedly, my respondents have, at times, used Classical Arabic words and expressions with me (sometimes as explanations of the Moroccan dialects) because they feel I will better understand what they say; but the motivation behind their use of Classical Arabic is more complicated than it might first appear. Moreover, there is perhaps another dimension to foreigner talk, or rather there is a variety of speech which might be seen as being very close to foreigner talk, which may well be worth investigating: when I asked B.S. whether he did actually speak to me as if I were another native Moroccan Arabic speaker (as I had requested him to do for the recording), he told me that he spoke to me in the same way as he spoke to his daughter. This is interesting since it suggests that B.S. may use a kind of foreigner talk to his own children; it also shows that he is aware that he has to modify his Moroccan Arabic speech somewhat to communicate effectively with members of the second generation.

The desire to make one's speech more 'intelligible', had a rather bizarre consequence in the case of A.A.. It was characteristic of this respondent's dialect that he did not pronounce the Arabic phoneme /q̇/, but instead produced a glottal stop. Thus once, when speaking in Moroccan Arabic, he mentioned the word *'ur'an*, meaning by this the

'Qur'an'; when he switched to *English* for his next sentence, however, the same word appeared as 'Qurgan'. This is apparently a case of 'hypercorrection'. A.A. was certainly aware (having discussed it with me) of how, in his particular dialect, the phoneme /q/ is always pronounced as /'/, a glottal stop. In his efforts to reproduce the Classical Arabic pronunciation (*Qurʾan*) and in his desire for me to understand this word correctly he seems to have become confused about the glottal stop in Classical Arabic and to have generalised a routine conversion of dialectal /'/ to Classical Arabic /q/, with the consequence that he slips in /q/, or rather its Moroccan Arabic variant /g/, in place of the glottal stop which ought to have been there.

I mentioned above that foreigner talk is also characterised by the use of 'foreign words'. As far as some of my respondents are concerned this is evident to a large degree, only the words they use are better described as items from other types of colloquial Arabic, rather than as 'foreign words' (and are perhaps not quite part of the same phenomenon as that intended by Ferguson and Debose (1972) when they speak of 'foreign words'). These items included words such as *buyut* (instead of *diyur* 'houses'), *kways* (instead of *mizyen* 'good'); use of the prefix */bi-/* for Moroccan Arabic */ka-/* (or */ta-/*)[112], as in *bitʿazibni* (for *katʿazibni*, 'I like'); and loss of the

[112] The difference between */ka-/* and */ta-/* is dialectal.

Moroccan Arabic phoneme /q/ (not due to influence from any Moroccan Arabic dialect, but due to the Egyptian colloquial pronunciation, most likely), such as *yaš̄ma'* (for *yaš̄maq*, 'yashmak') or *'alat* (instead of *qalat*, 'she said'). There are many other such instances in the corpus which cannot be mentioned here. Suffice it to say that the infiltration of items from other Arabic colloquials (especially Egyptian), into the Moroccan Arabic of my respondents is probably due in part to their close contact with other Arabs living in Edinburgh, and in part to the belief that somehow another Arabic dialect, particularly Egyptian Arabic, will be more intelligible to a foreigner. The very first time I visited the home of S.O. and met her family, her husband joked about the way she behaved with me because, he said, she was speaking to me in Egyptian Arabic. In the chapter on language attitudes I noted that one of my respondents (M.O.) considered Egyptian Arabic to be a very 'rich' language (but Moroccan Arabic was not). His reason for this was that Egyptian Arabic was understood by many people throughout the Arab world and, therefore, it had a rich vocabulary. L.O. also found Egyptian Arabic very useful and S.O. praised it for its beauty several times. S.O.'s frequent use of Egyptian Arabic when she speaks to me suggests not only that she thinks it will be easier for me to understand than other types of Arabic, but also that she enjoys *having the opportunity to speak it* (she may also feel that I should learn a variety of Arabic which she considers to be better

than her own Moroccan Arabic dialect).

6.3 Some Remarks Concerning the Second Generation

Throughout this chapter I have concentrated more upon the first than the second generation. In this section, I intend to look, very briefly, at some of the characteristics of the children's language behaviour. Perhaps it would be best to begin with some general impressions and then turn to a few specific items of interest I have noted in the corpus.

Hardly any of the second generation whom I recorded, together with the other children of the Moroccan community whom I also met, struck me as being completely confident of their command of Moroccan Arabic. Naturally their ability varied from one individual to the next, and was related, to some extent, to age and family background. In one family the three children, from six to ten years of age (whom I was not able to record), had a remarkably poor command of Moroccan Arabic. This was undoubtedly due to the fact that their parents almost always spoke in English to them. The two youngest children of another family, however (eight and five years of age), were highly competent in Moroccan Arabic and spoke it, it seemed to me, even more fluently than two of their older siblings (F.M. and R.M.) (this was also the impression their parents had): perhaps this was partly due to the fact that

the younger children had only started going to school/nursery school relatively recently, and before then had usually only spoken in Moroccan Arabic. It is also interesting to note that the female children of this family (K.M. and the two youngest children) appeared to be more competent in Moroccan Arabic than their male siblings (F.M. and R.M.). This may be purely coincidental, or there may be reasons for this which are specific to this particular family since I did not observe this tendency in any other family (although it is possible that a more rigorous and scientific examination of the other children's language may reveal a similar pattern). Sex differentiation in language behaviour is also an important aspect of sociolinguistic research (see for example, Cheshire (1982), Trudgil (1974), Abu Haidar (1988)) but will not be dealt with in the present study. However, it should be noted that one of the reasons why the recording with K.M. produced very little evidence of English infiltration into her Moroccan Arabic, was that not only did she request me to tell her the questions I wanted to ask her *before* we turned on the tape-recorder (and she, therefore, had time to think about her answers) but also during the recording she paid careful attention to her speech and kept her answers as short as possible. Her siblings, F.M. and R.M. on the other hand, were more relaxed and confident and R.M. even said he *enjoyed* being recorded. This last comment was in fact highly characteristic of R.M. who enjoyed speaking Moroccan

Arabic more than English and took some delight in speaking it very fast, with the result that, at times, it was difficult for me to differentiate one word from another. His Moroccan Arabic speech also included a large amount of English, some of which he was evidently unaware he had spoken since he was not at all pleased to hear it when, later on, we listened to the tape-recording together[113].

Yet, R.M. was not the most difficult respondent to understand, despite the fact that his words often ran together. The person whose speech was hardest to comprehend (of all my respondents) was S.A.. My impressions are that this was largely due to her particular pronunciation of certain Moroccan Arabic phonemes, for example /t/ would often sound like /ts/ as in *tskun* (instead of *tkun* 'it is' (f)) and *tsḍḥik* (instead of *tḍḥik* 'you laugh' or could even sound like /s/ as in *ḥis* (instead of *ḥit* 'also'); sometimes parts of words were omitted (or were virtually inaudible) such as *ta* (instead of *ḥata* 'also, until, even') and some sounds were omitted from the middle of words, such as *ʿanum* (for *ʿandum* 'with them') and *ʿan:a* (for *ʿandna* 'with us'). As for the last of these examples, *ʿanum* and *ʿan:a* S.A. was aware that this was incorrect, but persisted in saying it by force of habit (*ʿanum* and *ʿan:a* actually mean 'from them' and 'from us' in Moroccan Arabic, quite different to the meanings

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[113] An interesting example of this.was R.M.'s frequent use of English 'if' instead of Moroccan Arabic *ila*, such as in 'if *ngelis rasi*' ('if I sit on my own').

intended by S.A. when she used these words during the recordings)[114].

Like R.M., S.A. also spoke very fluently, which made it more difficult for me to understand. However, R.M. differed from S.A. in that for him speaking 'fast' contained an element of fun, which was not apparent to the same extent in the language behaviour of S.A.. I noticed that other members of the second generation also found a kind of 'entertainment' in speaking Moroccan Arabic or at least had learnt to use it in a 'creative' way. This was particularly evident in the way in which Moroccan Arabic and English could be combined to produce funny hybrid phrases, such as one young girl's reply to a question of mine: "*maʿandīši* clue!" ("I haven't got a clue!") and the remark she made after she had seen that I was amused by what she had said is significant: "I like that one!" (indicating that she uses many other such mixed phrases). R.M., in particular, created new Moroccan Arabic *verbs* using words borrowed from English, such as *kiyski* ('one skis') and *kiycycle* ('one cycles'); I also recorded more assimilated forms: *nsiklu* ('we cycle') and *siklit* ('I cycled') (as well as forms which were not assimilated at all: 'cycling', 'skiing' and even the verb 'ski', which is interesting because the prefix is omitted altogether and

[114] There are many other interesting observations which could be made about S.A.'s Moroccan Arabic speech.

one does not know, therefore, the subject of the verb)[115]; there were other words too which people apparently enjoyed using, for example, A.O. used the word *Diragula* (the Arabic pronunciation of 'Dracula') although this was probably not A.O.'s own invention, but the name by which 'Dracula' is generally known to cinema-goers in Morocco.

The fact that my respondents were being *recorded* probably meant that people were, generally, more careful about the way in which they spoke than they would usually have been. As I have noted K.M. was particularly cautious about being recorded although her brother R.M. seemed to treat the recording session as an enjoyable exercise. Like R.M., F.M. was also fairly relaxed but I noted that some words he used appeared to indicate that he was in fact making a special effort: Amarɛika is neither Arabic *Amrika* or English ' America'; it seems that F.M. here attempts to Arabise 'America' but does not succeed in finding the correct Arabic term. Another, even more interesting example of a similar phenomenon is observed in F.M.'s use of the word *programaz̄*: this indeed is clearly a mixture of English 'programme' and Arabic *barnamaz̄* (also 'programme'). F.M. seems to have confused the two words and produced a rather strange hybrid. Rather than use English words or phrases outright, F.M. sometimes tries

[115] I also noticed that in the recordings of the second generation very often the prefixes of verbs seemed to be omitted.

either to Arabise English words (as above) or to produce half-Arabic half-English phrases, such as 'nuclear *lḥarb*', a literal translation of 'nuclear war', except that F.M. does not appear to know the Moroccan Arabic for 'nuclear'. Other attempts by F.M. to Arabise his speech include *computoret* ('computors') where he has added the Moroccan Arabic plural suffix /-et/ to English 'computor'; in addition F.M. makes use of the Arabic definite article /l-/ (which was used by most of my respondents with English borrowings), however, he does not seem to realise that before certain consonents this article /l-/ is omitted and the consonent is lengthened instead: thus his use of *ldirector* is incorrect and he ought to have said *d:irector* ('the director'). Literal translation or 'half-translations' from English such as 'nuclear *lḥarb*' above, are interesting but occur rarely in the corpus; on the whole the second generation respondents who helped me with the recordings seemed to have a fairly good grounding in both Moroccan Arabic grammar and Moroccan Arabic idiomatic usage. Posssibly A.O. and B.O. (brother and sister) were most hesitant in their speech but this may have been due partly to the fact that they were the youngest of my respondents and were, therefore, less confident. These two respondents also lacked a great deal of Moroccan Arabic vocabulary and yet were unwilling to use English words (probably because they were being recorded). On the other hand R.M., who also lacked much Moroccan Arabic vocabulary, did not hesitate to use as many English words

as he needed.

In the introduction to this chapter I mentioned that second language acquisition was one of the fields of enquiry connected with the study of languages in contact; however, as far as the second generation are concerned, it is perhaps more appropriate to see the acquisition of Moroccan Arabic simply in terms of language acquisition rather than second language acquisition since it is a language the children have been learning since their birth. It is also interesting to relate my research to studies on *pidginization*. Heath (1989) writes that in his study some borrowings were identified which had "pidgin-like characteristics" (1989:202); these included "items showing varying degrees of phonological integration (and varying degrees of usage frequency) but little or no morphological adaptation ..." (ibid). This is interesting because I too have noted some fluctuations in the pronunciation of certain words by members of the second generation, which by analogy might also be counted as some sort of pidginization of their Moroccan Arabic. The word 'restaurant', as I have already remarked, was pronounced in three different ways in the data and was used in conjunction with Moroccan Arabic *ristora;* and I noticed also some fluctuation on the part of F.M. and R.M. in their use of the words *film* and *filim* (the first of these words is an established Moroccan Arabic borrowing which is listed in Heath's book, the second I have not heard

elsewhere and it was not listed by Heath). Apart from this there are other aspects of the children's Moroccan Arabic which might also be compared to the process of pidginization (eg. possible simplifications in sentence structure or morphology) but these will not be addressed now.

The purpose of this section was to give a brief outline of some of the notable characteristics of the language of the second generation and the observations that have been made are not intended to be a complete analysis of the date: there is certainly much more which could be mentioned concerning the children's language behaviour but restrictions on time and space have meant that such a detailed examination could not, for the present, be undertaken.

6.4 A Summary

In this chapter I have looked at 'borrowing' and some of the ways in which this phenomenon relates to my study. It was found that, apart from other factors, the *motivation* behind the use of foreign items was particularly important in differentiating between code-switching and spontaneous borrowings (or borrowings which were not yet a 'well-established' part of my respondents' Moroccan Arabic speech; certain words and phrases were also examined in detail. The Moroccan community of Edinburgh was compared with other language communities elsewhere (ie. Heath's

Moroccan respondents in Morocco and Rouchdy's Palestinian/Lebanese respondents in America). It was found that there are striking differences in the extent to which borrowed items are integrated into the borrowing language: this is probably due to whether the borrowed items are old or new, as well as being connected with differences in the size and autonomy of each language community. Heath also discovered clear semantic patterns in the borrowings which he listed; any such semantic patterns which occurred in my data were not, on the whole, striking (and may actually have been influenced by the kind of questions asked of my respondents during the recording sessions). This discrepancy in our findings appears to be related, at least partly, to the fact that Moroccans in Edinburgh are a small immigrant group, whereas Heath's respondents were Moroccans who lived in Morocco, their 'home country'.

The phenomenon of 'foreigner talk' was also briefly discussed and it was noted that sometimes members of the first generation would use Classical Arabic with me, or other types of colloquial Arabic (especially Egyptian) rather than Moroccan Arabic. My impressions were that this was partly due to a belief that these types of Arabic are more intelligible to a foreigner than their own colloquial dialect.

Finally, some comments have also been made concerning the

second generation, although, on the whole, I have concentrated more on the language of their parents. I noted, in particular, that, despite some hesitancy and a certain amount of shyness in my presence, the children generally enjoy speaking Moroccan Arabic and find considerable pleasure in the way in which Arabic and English can be combined to create new means of expression.

Chapter Seven

Summary and Conclusion

7.0 A Summary

This thesis was based upon the findings of the questionnaire and the data obtained from the recordings of sessions I held with my respondents. In chapters two and three I analysed and discussed the responses to the questionnaire which I considered to be most significant and interesting. In the first of these two chapters I dealt with language attitudes, and discussed the idea of 'language loyalty' and how my respondents (the first generation in particular) judge Arabic to be, in some ways, superior to other languages. I also noted both that the first generation seemed very much aware of the difference between Classical Arabic and colloquial Arabic in their language attitudes (and were very much in favour of Classical Arabic) and, at the same time, that the second generation appear to think Classical Arabic less 'necessary' than their parents and did not praise it so highly. The analysis of the children's responses and the patterns I found therein also led me to believe that four families who responded to the questionnare could be divided into two groups of two families, the children in each group having made similar judgements about Scottish and Standard English. This contributed to the description

of the community and enabled me to gain a fuller understanding of some of those people taking part in my study.

The results from the questions on language attitudes also contributed to the analysis and discussion of language choice. It was pointed out that people's loyalty to Arabic would probably lead them to speak it whenever they could, and to impart a knowledge of Arabic to their children as part of their cultural heritage (section 3.1.1.3); Arabic was also considered 'necessary' for their children to know, so that they could keep in contact with their family and friends in Morocco. The positive feelings towards Arabic, exhibited by the first generation may indeed be reflected in their responses to 'language choice' where they claimed to use Moroccan Arabic instead of English in situations where they had a choice of using either language (although their proficiency in Arabic is also a contributory factor).

I also noted, however, that the well-defined 'domains' which Bentahila (1983) showed to be linked to the use of Arabic and French in Morocco are not applicable to the situation of Moroccan immigrants in Edinburgh, with regard to the use of Arabic and English. This is because in most contexts, or domains, English is the only language which it is possible to use. What is more, in situations where either language is possible the second generation appear

to use more English than their parents. It was noted particularly that, whereas the first generation tended to distinguish between topics of conversation more suited to an 'Arabic speaking mode of communication' and those appropriate to an 'English speaking mode', the second generation hardly differentiated at all between these topics, claiming to use English and Arabic to a fairly equal degree for all topics. Furthermore, the use of English by the second generation appears to encroach upon domains where previously Arabic would have mostly been used (such as in the home). Thus the children, on the whole, no longer have clearly defined domains in which Arabic is the main language of communication.

The use of Arabic by Moroccans in.Edinburgh is restricted largely to the domains of 'home' and 'friendship'; Bentahila labels these as 'informal' domains, where he would expect *his* respondents to prefer using Moroccan Arabic rather than the mixture of Arabic and French which is popular in 'formal' domains, such as 'work', 'education' and 'medicine'. Contrary to Bentahila's findings, the responses to my questionnaire indicated no special associations between language and formality/informality. Moreover, as far as the two varieties of Arabic are concerned people claimed to use Moroccan Arabic for some formal occasions and Classical Arabic sometimes for informal occasions, in direct contrast to how the roles of the two varieties are

normally perceived.

It was also useful to refer to the study of people's language attitudes and language choice in the investigation into code-switching, a phenomenon practised extensively by some of my respondents and which formed the subject of the following two chapters, chapters four and five. My discussion on language choice had made it clear that Moroccans in Edinburgh cannot properly be described as a 'diglossic community' like that which Bentahila studies in Morocco. This would imply that my respondents do not employ 'situational switching' in the same way as do Bentahila's Arabic-French bilinguals, and that situational switching would only take place on a relatively small scale. This helped me to explain why this form of code-switching only seemed to occur rarely amongst my respondents.

The peculiar position of immigrants in a country whose native tongue is different from their own meant that my study concentrated more on the language of people in 'face-to-face' interactions (such as our taped conversations) rather than looking at large scale patterns of language use according to domains, for which a discussion of situational switching is more applicable. As I have mentioned I had discovered that in the questionnaire the first generation made associations betwen different topics and different languages; thus

topics concerned with Arab culture or life were linked with speaking Arabic and topics to do with life in Britain, for example, were thought to be discussed more in English. The discovery of this trend was highly relevant in the discussion of 'metaphorical switching' (chapter four) which takes place in 'face-to-face' situations and in which the speaker uses the associations of a language to bring an additional and subtle dimension to his words.

I developed the idea of these associations and, together with my impressions of people's general attitudes, discussed the probability that there exists a 'we-they dichotomy' in the minds of Moroccans in Edinburgh, which is symbolised by the use of Arabic and English respectively. It was noted, for instance, that 'social and economic advancement' is somewhat in conflict with'group identity' and that this conflict is not only symbolised by, but inextricably part of, the Arabic-English dichotomy (section 4.2.1). Furthermore, I quickly became aware of contradictions between my respondents' value systems and the way in which they perceived British society, and I discussed the possibility that such differences could also be connected in the minds of my respondents with the use of one language or another. This helped me explain some of the code-switching which occurred in my respondents' speech and which I treated as examples of metaphorical switching. I noted too that not only is the use of one code or the other symbolic of

specific values or attitudes, but also that the codes themselves have come to have certain connotations. Thus Arabic seemed to be associated with informality and intimacy and English seemed to suggest formality and distance. This led to a discussion about 'personalisation' and 'objectivisation' (section 4.2.2). Finally, my chapter included a discussion about the role of emphasis in code-switching and how the use of two distinct codes can serve to throw into relief certain of the speaker's words and phrases (section 4.3).

Having looked at the significance of code-switching in its sociolinguistic sense, I then turned my attention to some of the linguistic aspects of code-switching, which I examined in chapter five. This involved an analysis of where a switch to the other code was likely to occur within an utterance. I looked at switching in certain grammatical constructions and at the boundaries of specific grammatical constituents. I also discussed the phenomenon of 'pronoun doubling' with which, it appeared, people imitated doubling patterns in Arabic, and I investigated ways in which people try to ease the transition from one code to another (one strategy possibly being pronoun doubling). In addition I concluded from the data that Arabic and English have distinct roles to play in my respondents' code-switching mode of communication. The direction of the code-switch, for example, was significant: a switch from Arabic to English often implied

that the respondent's first language was English and a switch which occurred the other way round suggested that the native tongue was Arabic. There was also a tendency for the first generation to switch to English within an Arabic sentence for 'content words' rather than 'grammatical words'. I suggested that the reason for this could be connected with the idea of 'open class' and 'closed class' items (section 5.2); content words pertaining to the first type and, therefore, more easily assimilated as new items by speakers, and grammatical words belonging to the latter class, to which new items are not regularly added. Content words, such as nouns may also be easier for the foreign speaker to assimilate since they define concrete and 'graspable' things. Furthermore, the speaker may wish to switch to English for some nouns because these terms best describe aspects of the society in which he lives (whereas there would be no similar motivation for switching to grammatical words).

This last point is actually very relevant to the discussion on borrowing in the following chapter (chapter six). In this chapter I discussed different types of borrowing and the way in which one might distinguish borrowings (especially 'spontaneous borrowings') from code-switching. Having noted that one should take account of the number of speakers using an item, the frequency with which the item is used, and the degree to which it is integrated (morphologically and phonologically), I

concluded that, in the case of spontaneous borrowings, the most important factor to consider is the *motivation* behind the use of the item. Thus, instead of *switching code* for a noun which describes some aspect of British society, the Moroccan speaker may be thought to have *borrowed* the word to compensate for a deficiency in his own vocabulary. Differentiating between the phenomena of code-switching and borrowing is interesting in that it leads one to investigate the process by which new words are introduced into another language and become an established part of that language (the implication being that spontaneous borrowings, and not code-switches, are more likely to become an established part of a person's language behaviour). I went on to analyse some of the borrowings I found in the data and looked at those 'semantic borrowing patterns' which I felt to be most significant. I suggested that some of the borrowings I mentioned were a 'semi-established' part of my respondents' Moroccan Arabic, but apart from this I found no recently borrowed English words which had been fully assimilated by people into their Moroccan Arabic speech, since coming to Britain.

Also as part of this chapter I looked at the phenomenon of 'foreigner talk', which, in the case of my respondents, not only entailed the use of English words but also involved the insertion of Classical Arabic words and phrases and items from other colloquial dialects, into

their Moroccan Arabic speech. Finally, I commented specifically on some of the language behaviour of the second generation and concluded that they seem to derive great pleasure from their knowledge of Moroccan Arabic.

7.1 A Note on the Future of Moroccan Arabic in Edinburgh

Shorrab (1986) has studied the situation of Arab immigrants in America; he comments that:

> "The study of bilingual patterns of Arabic-English speaking families and their pre-school children points to the importance of the phenomenon of de-ethnization, or assimilation to the newly acquired American way of living. The family at home is the terrain on which the competition between the two languages takes place. The conflict is usually between the mother tongue, which is an imported yet distinct part of the heritage, and the new dominant language that expresses the new culture. Consequently, the degree of bilingualism and acculturation can really be measured through the study of de-ethnization; that is to say, adopting the new concepts of the new land ... if there is a trend towards assimilation, this process would be accompanied by 'monolingualization'" (1986:87).

Shorrab thus sees a connection between cultural assmilation and loss of the native tongue. A similar connection is implicit in the idea that Moroccan immigrants in Edinburgh seek to pass on a knowledge of Arabic to their children because it is part of their cultural heritage; the implication is that if the children reject their parents' cultural heritage they will also reject their language (conversely, if the parents reject their own culture they will not pass on their language to their children). But the role of language is perhaps more important than has yet been suggested. Saville-Troike (1982) writes that:

"language learning for a child is ... also learning to be a male, or a female, or rich, or poor, or Black, or English, or Chinese, or Muslim, or Buddhist, or to identify with dozens of other social roles and statuses into which he or she is being encultured" (1982:214).

This would imply that language is the key to a person's social identity, and that if the native language ceases to be important, then second generation immigrants will begin to lose touch with some of the 'social roles and statuses' they learned and grew up with as children. In either case, the degree of cultural assimilation taking place amongst immigrants would give some indication as to whether the native language is being maintained or not.

As for my respondents, my observations are based upon my numerous conversations with them (including our taped conversations); my experience of their home and social life; and their responses to the questionnaire. My impressions are that, although individuals react somewhat differently to the new culture, the first generation are less 'assimilated' than their children (as one would expect). There is, in this sense, a link between 'cultural assimilation' and 'language loss' since the second generation are also less proficient in Moroccan Arabic than their parents. But it is difficult to say whether assimilation to the 'British way of life' is actually the reason behind language loss -or vice versa - or whether there are other causes. This could be better investigated by general attitudinal questionnaires and closer examination of the language behaviour of the second

generation. However, this is not appropriate in the present thesis and my objective here is simply to give some general indications about the future of Arabic amongst my respondents, or rather to point out some of the influences on its possible loss or maintenance.

That language is closely identified with culture is a generally accepted idea in the literature (see, for example, Hill and Hill (1980), Bentahila (1983), Abd el-Jawad (1986b)). For instance, negative feelings towards a foreign culture will often result in a rejection of the language of that culture, as is sometimes the case with French in North Africa; whereas positive feelings may encourage the conscious insertion of French words into English speech, for example, due to English people's associations of French with a sophisticated culture. The link between language and culture and the effect of cultural attitudes on choice of language should not be underestimated. I have discussed in chapter four how language and cultural associations seem to be exploited during code-switching to express, in a subtle way, the opinions of the speaker. I have also made it clear that my first generation respondents have very negative views about some aspects of British culture. Some of these views (in a modified form) have been passed to the second generation and may have some influence in their desire to maintain their knowledge of Moroccan Arabic, to which they may feel more culturally akin than to English.

Yet, clearly, the 'pressures' of English speaking society are great and are most likely to be the strongest factor encouraging my respondents to use English. Whether these 'pressures' eventually lead to 'monolingualisation' or not depends upon the Moroccans themselves, and the nature of their community. As for this last point, although Moroccans make up a tightly knit community in which shared events and close contact between members is important, the community is small and my respondents rely heavily on the wider English speaking society and are thus more open to the pressures it exerts. Furthermore, the situation is complicated by other Arabic speakers, whose presence may facilitate the maintenance of 'Arabic', but not specifically Moroccan Arabic.

I have already discussed the language attitudes of people (chapters two and three); some of these attitudes are of interest in a discussion about language maintenance/language loss. I have argued (section 3.1.1.3) that the responses to the questionnaire indicate that my first generation respondents feel some sort of loyalty towards Arabic and that their loyalty to Arabic would encourage them to pass on a knowledge of it to their children. The children's responses to attitudinal questions about 'Arabic' are, therefore, of great interest, since they would indicate whether the children also have positive feelings towards their mother tongue, and whether they hold it in higher esteem than other

languages and would want to maintain a knowledge of it. More importantly, perhaps, both my first and second generation respondents were also asked specifically whether they would like their children to have a good knowledge of 'Arabic'. Figure 47 shows their responses. Six members of the second generation answered the question; all six very much wanted to pass on a knowledge of Moroccan Arabic to their children. This was the most positive response for the seven varieties of language they were asked about[116]. This result is surprising though when it is compared with some of the responses to the attitudinal questions. The second generation, as a whole, thought 'Arabic' only slightly richer and more beautiful than 'English', and somewhat less suited to scientific research (section 3.1.2). As for how 'necessary' and how 'useful' each language is perceived to be the results showed no trend in favour of either 'Arabic' or 'English' (section 3.1.2). The results thus only showed very small differences in the attitudes of the second generation to each language. Although many members of the second generation would like to pass on a knowledge of Moroccan Arabic to their own children, the results do not show any special attitudes towards this language, which would distinguish it from any of the other languages mentioned. This may be significant, since it may prove difficult to

[116] Amongst the first generation the most positive responses were given jointly for Moroccan Arabic and Standard English, although Classical Arabic was also very popular.

Figure 47

"If you have children, do you want them to have a good knowledge of the following language?"

(a = I wish it very much, b = I hope it might be possible, c = it does not really matter, d = I don't want it at all)

	Classical Arabic	Moroccan Arabic	Another type of Arabic	Scottish English	Standard English	French	Spanish
1	b	a	c	a	a	a	a
2		a			a	a	
3							
4		a			a		
5	b	a	d	a	d	a	b
6		a		a		a	
7							
8	a	a		a			
9							
10	a	a	c	d	a	a	e
11	a	a		d	a	b	c
12					a		
13					a		
14		a		a		a	
15	a	a				a	a
16							
17							
18	a	a	c	a	a	b	b
19	a	a	c	a	a	a	c
20	a	a	c	b	a	b	c
21	a	a	c	a	a	c	c
22	a	a			a	a	b
23	a	a		a	a	a	
24	a	a	d	b	a	a	d

maintain the use of Moroccan Arabic in the future, and if the second generation do not tend to consider Moroccan Arabic to be particularly special in any way they may lack sufficient motivation to teach it to the next generation.

People were also asked which language they preferred for self-expression (figure 49). Only one member of the second generation preferred Moroccan Arabic, although it was also mentioned by one other jointly with Scottish English. Otherwise, the second generation preferred some form of English. This is not surprising since these respondents are far more proficient in English than in Arabic. Furthermore, the second generation tend to feel unsure about their knowledge of 'Arabic' and are sometimes shy about speaking it (they usually speak English to each other). Some parents do not respond positively to the way in which their children speak Moroccan Arabic (because of influences from English) and may, unwittingly, discourage their children from using it. Hill and Hill (1980) mention a similar phenomenon in South America, when they talk of native Americans laughing at their children's errors; thus, they conclude, some young people may avoid using Nahautl (the native tongue) for fear of condemnation (1980:132). I have mentioned already that at least one father claims to use a simpler version of Moroccan Arabic with his children, no doubt compounding the problem since his children, therefore have less chance of speaking it proficiently.

Figure 9

"Which language do you prefer for self-expression?"

	Moroccan Arabic	Scottish English	Standard English
1			✓
2	✓	✓	
3			✓
4			✓
5		✓	
6		✓	
7		✓	
8	✓		
9		✓	

Perhaps the major factor, though, in the loss of Arabic amongst my respondents, is that the second generation encounter few occasions for which Arabic is the only language of communication. As I have noted (section 3.1.2) in the domain 'home' both languages are used, where previously, television and non-Arabic speaking friends are all likely to introduce and encourage the use of English in the home. The community cannot, therefore, be described as 'diglossic' and, for the second generation at least 'Arabic' has virtually no special role to play and in most situations where there is an opportunity to speak it, English is appropriate as well. The only special role Arabic has is its use with monolingual Moroccan friends or monolingual members of the respondents' families; the second generation usually have to wait, however, until they visit Morocco before encountering such people.

The future of Moroccan Arabic in Edinburgh thus appears to be somewhat uncertain. Yet, there are signs of its revival. This 'revival' has taken place amongst three members of the second generation (still living in Edinburgh) who have married Moroccan nationals and who are thus encouraged to use Arabic to a great extent in their new homes. Furthermore, there seems to be a trend towards such marriages, since these three people are the only members of the second generation that I know of who have married. If the trend continues, it will not only give impetus to the use of Moroccan Arabic amongst my

respondents, but will also show that the second generation are not quite so 'assimilated' into British culture as they might first have seemed; or rather that they feel attachment and perhaps loyalty to the culture of their parents. If the trend does not continue, however, members of the second generation may marry either people who do not speak Moroccan Arabic at all, or other children of Moroccan immigrants (to whom they speak mainly in English); in either case the possibility that their children will also speak Moroccan Arabic is, I feel, unlikely[117].

[117] I have recently received news that two more members of the second generation are engaged to be married: one to a Moroccan national and the other to a person of Moroccan parentage who has been brought up in France. These two people plan to live in Edinburgh and London, respectively.

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APPENDIX

Questionnaire about language

CONFIDENTIAL The answers you give will be treated with the utmost confidentiality. Please answer the questions by yourself and do not ask anyone's help.

Date of birth : .....

Place of birth : .....

Male/Female : .....

Years resident in Britain : .....

For how many years have you attended school/been in higher education : .....

Whereabouts in Morocco is your dialect spoken : .....

Please number your response 1 - 5.
1 = always 2 = mostly 3 = sometimes 4 = rarely 5 = never

1. Which language would you choose when talking to the following people.

	Classical/ Standard Arabic	Moroccan Arabic	Another type of Arabic? (please specify)	Scottish English	Standard/ Posh Eng.	French	Spanish
Parents							
Your husband/ wife (if applicable)							
Your children (If applicable)							
Sisters							
Brothers							
Arabic-speaking family friends							
Arabic-speaking friends: at school (If applicable)							
Arabic-speaking friends: at Arabic school (If applicable)							

2. How often would you speak these languages when you are
[Please number your response 1 - 5.
1 = always 2 = mostly 3 = sometimes 4 = rarely 5 = never]

	Classical/ Standard Arabic	Moroccan Arabic	Another type of Arabic? (specify)	Scottish English	Standard/ Posh Eng.	French	Spanish
At home							
At Arabic-speaking friend's house							
Buying things from an Arab shop							
At Arabic school: (if applicable) in class							
At Arabic school: at breaktime							
At the mosque							

3. When you are at home how often would you speak these languages when discussing [Please number your response 1 - 5.
1 = always 2 = mostly 3 = sometimes 4 = rarely 5 = never]

	Classical/ Standard Arabic	Moroccan Arabic	Another type of Arabic? (specify)	Scottish English	Standard/ Posh Eng.	French	Spanish
Education							
School							
Religion							
British society/ culture							
Moroccan society/ culture							
Family in Morocco							
Politics							
Work/ Profession							
Sport							
Personal matters							
Other? (please specify)							

4. When you are at home when would you use these languages
[Please number your response 1 - 5.
1 = always 2 = mostly 3 = sometimes 4 = rarely 5 = never]

	Classical/ Standard Arabic	Moroccan Arabic	Another type of Arabic? (specify)	Scottish English	Standard/ Posh Eng	French	Spanish
For telling jokes							
For insulting							
For greetings							
To tell off							
To encourage							
To be friendly							
To be serious							
When tired							
When angry							
For emphasis							
For formal occasions							

5. Which language do you prefer for self -expression [please tick (✓)]

Classical/ Standard Arabic	Moroccan Arabic	Another type of Arabic? (please specify)	Scottish English	Standard/ Posh Eng.	French	Spanish

6. Which, if any, do you read [please tick (✓)]

	Arabic	English	French	Spanish
Newspapers in				
Books in				

7. Which, if any, do you watch [please tick (✓)]

	Classical/ Standard Arabic	Moroccan Arabic	Another type of Arabic? (specify)	English	French	Spanish
Satellite T.V in						
Videos in						

8. Which, if any, do you listen to [please tick (✓)]

	Classical/ Standard Arabic	Moroccan Arabic	Another type of Arabic? (specify)	English	French	Spanish
Music in						
The radio in						

9. If you write letters to your family or Arabic-speaking friends do you write in [please tick (✓)]

Classical/ Standard Arabic	Moroccan Arabic	Another type of Arabic? (please specify)	Scottish English	Standard/ Posh Eng.	French	Spanish

10. To what extent would you like to improve your knowledge of the following languages [please tick (✓)]

	Classical/ Standard Arabic	Moroccan Arabic	Another type of Arabic? (specify)	Scottish English	Standard/ Posh Eng.	French	Spanish
I wish it very much							
I hope it might be possible							
It does not really matter							
I don't want to at all							

11. If you have children, do you want them to have a good knowledge of [please tick (✓)]

	Classical/ Standard Arabic	Moroccan Arabic	Another type of Arabic? (specify)	Scottish English	Standard/ Posh Eng.	French	Spanish
I wish it very much							
I hope it might be possible							
It does not really matter							
I don't want it at all							

12. How do you rate your ability in reading the following languages [please tick (✓)]

	Arabic	English	French	Spanish
Very well				
Well				
Average				
A little				
Not at all				

13. How do you rate your ability in writing the following languages [please tick (✓)]

	Arabic	English	French	Spanish
Very well				
Well				
Average				
A little				
Not at all				

14.How do you rate your ability in speaking the following languages [please tick (✓)]

	Classical/ Standard Arabic	Moroccan Arabic	Another type of Arabic? (specify)	Scottish English	Standard/ Posh Eng.	French	Spanish
Very well							
Well							
Average							
A little							
Not at all							

15. How do you rate your ability in understanding the following languages [please tick (✓)]

	Classical/ Standard Arabic	Moroccan Arabic	Another type of Arabic? (specify)	Scottish English	Standard/ Posh Eng.	French	Spanish
Very well							
Well							
Average							
A little							
Not at all							

16. Is it a good thing to be able to speak two or more languages fluently ?
[please tick (✓)]

Yes Don't know

No

Why do you say this ?

17. How rich do you think the following languages are [please tick (✓)]

	Classical/ Standard Arabic	Moroccan Arabic	Another type of Arabic? (specify)	Scottish English	Standard/ Posh Eng.	French	Spanish
Very rich							
Quite rich							
Average							
Not very rich							
Not at all rich							

18. How beautiful do you think the following languages are [please tick (✓)]

	Classical/ Standard Arabic	Moroccan Arabic	Another type of Arabic? (specify)	Scottish English	Standard/ Posh Eng.	French	Spanish
Very beautiful							
Quite beautiful							
Average							
Not very beautiful							
Not at all beautiful							

19. How necessary do you think it is for you to know the following languages [please tick (✓)]

	Classical/ Standard Arabic	Moroccan Arabic	Another type of Arabic? (specify)	Scottish English	Standard/ Posh Eng.	French	Spanish
Very necessary							
Quite necessary							
Average							
Not very necessary							
Not at all necessary							

20. How lively do you think the following languages are [please tick (✓)]

	Classical/ Standard Arabic	Moroccan Arabic	Another type of Arabic? (specify)	Scottish English	Standard/ Posh Eng.	French	Spanish
Very lively							
Quite lively							
Average							
Not very lively							
Not at all lively							

21. How useful do you think the following languages are [please tick (✓)]

	Classical/ Standard Arabic	Moroccan Arabic	Another type of Arabic? (specify)	Scottish English	Standard/ Posh Eng.	French	Spanish
Very useful							
Quite useful							
Average							
Not very useful							
Not at all useful							

22. How outdated do you think the following languages are [please tick (✓)]

	Classical Standard Arabic	Moroccan Arabic	Another type of Arabic? (specify)	Scottish English	Standard/ Posh Eng.	French	Spanish
Very outdated							
Quite outdated							
Average							
Not very outdated							
Not at all outdated							

23. How suited to scientific research do you think the following languages are [please tick (✓)]

	Classical/ Standard Arabic	Moroccan Arabic	Another type of Arabic? (specify)	Scottish English	Standard/ Posh Eng.	French	Spanish
Very suited							
Well suited							
Average							
Not very suited							
Not at all suited							

24. How difficult do you think the following languages are [please tick (✓)]

	Classical/ Standard Arabic	Moroccan Arabic	Another type of Arabic? (specify)	Scottish English	Standard/ Posh Eng.	French	Spanish
Very difficult							
Quite difficult							
Average							
Not very difficult							
Not at all difficult							

Thankyou very much for your time and cooperation in filling out this questionnaire.

استبيان عن اللغة

سري لن يرى احد اجوبتك غيري
من فضلك اجب على الاسئلة بنفسك بدون ان تستعين باحد من عائلتك

تاريخ الميلاد: .....
مكان الميلاد:.....
ذكر/انثى:.....
كم سنة سكنت في بريطانيا: .....
كم سنة درست في المدرسة/الجامعة:.....
في اي مكان في المغرب يتكلم الناس اللهجة التي تتكلمها .....

١. اي لغة تختار عندما تتكلم مع هؤلاء الا شخاص
(اكتب جوابك في شكل نمرة من ١ الى ٥.
١ = دائما ٢ = غالبا ٣ = احيانا ٤ = نادرا ٥ = ابدا)

	الفصحى/ العربية المعاصرة	المغربية الدارجة	عربية أخرى ؟ [ما هي]	الانجليزية الاسكتلندية	الانجليزية الفصحى	الفرنسية	الاسبانية
مع والديك							
مع زوجك/زوجتك							
مع اولادك							
مع اخوانك							
مع اخوانك							
مع اصدقاء العائلة العرب							

٢. متى تتكلم اللغات االتالية (اكتب جوابك في شكل نمرة من ١ الى ٥ ١= دائما ٢ = غالبا
٣ = احيانا ٤ = نادرا ٥ = ابدا)

	الفصحى/ العربية المعاصرة	المغربية الدارجة	عربية أخرى ؟ [ما هي]	الانجليزية الاسكتلندية	الانجليزية الفصحى	الفرنسية	الاسبانية
في المنزل							
في منزل اصدقاء عرب							
في دكان عربي							
في الجامع							

٣. ما اللغة التي تتكلم بها في الحديث عن هذه الموضوعات (اكتب جوابك في شكل نمرة
من ١ الى ٥ ١= دائما ٢ = غالبا ٣ = احيانا ٤ = نادرا ٥ = ابدا)

	الفصحى/ العربية المعاصرة	المغربية الدارجة	عربية أخرى ؟ [ما هي]	الانجليزية الاسكتلندية	الانجليزية الفصحى	الفرنسية	الاسبانية
التعليم							
المدرسة							
الدين							
المجتمع البريطاني و تقاليده							
المجتمع المغربي و تقاليده							
اهلك في المغرب							
السياسة							
العمل							
الرياضة							
الامور الخاصة							
موضوع اخر؟ (ما هو)							

٤. متى تتكلم هذه اللغات عندما تكون في المنزل
(اكتب جوابك في شكل نمرة من ١ الى ٥
١= دائما ٢ = غالبا ٣ = احيانا ٤ = نادرا ٥ = ابدا)

	الفصحى/ العربية المعاصرة	المغربية الدلرجة	عربية أخرى ؟ [ما هي]	الانجليزية الاسكتلندية	الانجليزية الفصحى	الفرنسية	الاسبانية
للمزاح							
للسب							
للسلام							
للتوبيخ							
للتشجيع							
لاظهار المودة							
لامر جدي							
وانت عيان							
وانت غضبان							
للتوكيد							
في المناسبات الرسمية							

٥. اي لغة تفضل للتعبير عن نفسك ؟ (اكتب العلامة ✓)

الفصحى/ العربية المعاصرة	المغربية الدارجة	عربية أخرى ؟ [ما هي]	الانجليزية الاسكتلندية	الانجليزية الفصحى	الفرنسية	الاسبانية	اكثر من لغة واحدة [ما هي هذه اللغات]

٦. هل تقرأ (اكتب العلامة ✓)

	العربية	الانجليزية	الفرنسية	الاسبانية
جرائد باللغة				
كتب باللغة				

٧. هل تشاهد (اكتب العلامة ✓)

	الفصحى/ العربية المعاصرة	المغربية الدارجة	عربية أخرى ؟ [ما هي]	الانجليزية	الفرنسية	الاسبانية
تلفزيون Satellite باللغة						
الفيديو باللغة						

٨. هل تستمع الى (اكتب العلامة ✓)

	الفصحى/ العربية المعاصرة	المغربية الدارجة	عربية أخرى [ما هي ؟]	الانجليزية	الفرنسية	الاسبانية
الموسيقي باللغة						
الراديو باللغة						

٩. ما اللغة التي تكتب بها اذا ارسلت رسالة الى عائلتك او اصدقاء عرب (اكتب العلامة ✓)

الفصحى/ العربية لمعاصرة	المغربية الدارجة	عربية أخرى ؟ [ما هي]	الانجليزية الاسكتلندية	الانخليزية الفصحى	الفرنسية	الاسبانية

١٠. هل ترغب ان تتحسن في اللغات التالية (اكتب العلامة ✓)

	الفصحى/ العربية المعاصرة	المغربية الدارجة	عربية أخرى ؟ [ما هي]	الانجليزية الاسكتلندية	الانخليزية الفصحى	الفرنسية	الاسبانية
ارغب كثيرا							
ارغب بعض الشيء							
لا يهم							
لا ارغب							

١١. هل ترغب ان يحسن اولادك اللغات التالية (اكتب العلامة ✓)

	الفصحى/ العربية المعاصرة	المغربية الدارجة	عربية اخرى ؟ (ما هي)	الانجليزية الاسكتلندية	الانجليزية الفصحى	الفرنسية	الاسبانية
ارغب كثيرا							
ارغب بعض الشئ							
لا يهم							
لا ارغب							

١٢. هل تقرأ باللغات التالية (اكتب بالعلامة ✓)

	العربية	الانخليزية	الفرنسية	الاسبانية
جيد جدا				
جيد				
متوسط				
قليلا				
لا اقرأ				

١٣. هل تكتب باللغات التالية (اكتب بالعلامة ✓)

	العربية	الانخليزية	الفرنسية	الاسبانية
جيد جدا				
جيد				
متوسط				
قليلا				
لا اكتب				

١٤. هل تتكلم باللغات التالية (اكتب بالعلامة ✓)

	الفصحى/ العربية المعاصرة	المغربية الدراجة	عربية أخرى ؟ [ما هي]	الانخليزية الاسكتلندية	الانجليزية الفصحى	الفرنسية	الاسبانية
جيد جدا							
جيد							
متوسط							
قليلا							
لا اتكلم							

١٥. هل تفهم الحديث باللغات التالية (اكتب العلامة ✓)

	الفصحي/ العربية المعاصرة	المغربية الدراجة	عربية أخرى ؟ [ما هي]	الانخليزية الاسكتلندية	الانجليزية الفصحى	الفرنسية	الاسبانية
جيد جدا							
جيد							
متوسط							
قليلا							
لا افهم							

١٦. هل من الافضل ان يحسن الانسان اكثر من لغة في رأيك؟ (اكتب العلامة ✓)

نعم

لا

لا اعرف

لماذا تقول هذا؟

١٧. الى اي حد تعتبر ان اللغات التالية غنية في التعابير (اكتب العلامة ✓)

	الفصحى/ العربية المعاصرة	المغربية الدراجة	عربية أخرى ؟ [ما هي]	الانجليزية الاسكتلندية	الانجليزية الفصحى	الفرنسية	الاسبانية
غنية جدا							
غنية							
متوسطة							
فقيرة							
فقيرة جدا							

١٨. هل اللغات التالية جميلة (اكتب العلامة ✓)

	الفصحى / العربية المعاصرة	المغربية الدراجة	عربية أخرى ؟ [ما هي]	الانخليزية الاسكتلندية	الانجليزية الفصحى	الفرنسية	الاسبانية
جميلة جدا							
جميلة							
متوسطة							
غير جميلة							
قبيحة							

١٩. الى اي حد تعتبر ان اللغات التالية ضرورية لك (اكتب العلامة ✓)

	الفصحى / العربية المعاصرة	المغربية الدراجة	عربية أخرى ؟ [ما هي]	الانخليزية الاسكتلندية	الانجليزية الفصحى	الفرنسية	الاسبانية
ضرورية جدا							
ضرورية							
متوسط							
قليلا							
غير ضرورية							

٢٠. هل اللغات التالية حيَوية (اكتب العلامة ✓)

	الفصحى/ العربية المعاصرة	المغربية الدراجة	عربية اخرى ؟ [ما هي]	الانخليزية الاسكتلندية	الانجليزية الفصحى	الفرنسية	الاسبانية
حيَوية جدا							
حيَوية							
متوسطة							
قليلا							
غير حيَوية							

٢١. هل اللغات التالية مفيدة (اكتب العلامة ✓)

	الفصحى/ العربية المعاصرة	المغربية الدراجة	عربية اخرى؟ [ما هي]	الانخليزية الاسكتلندية	الانجليزية الفصحى	الفرنسية	الاسبانية
مفيدة جدا							
مفيدة							
متوسطة							
قليلا							
غير مفيدة							

٢٢. الي اي حد تعتبر ان اللغات التالية قديمة الطراز (اكتب العلامة ✓)

	الفصحى/ العربية المعاصرة	المغربية الدراجة	عربية أخرى ؟ [ما هي]	الانخليزية الاسكتلند	الانجليزية الفصحى	الفرنسية	الاسبانية
قديمة جدا							
قديمة							
متوسط							
قليلا							
غير قديمة							

٢٣. الى اي درجة تعتبر ان اللغات التالية مناسبة للبحث العلمي (اكتب العلامة ✓)

	الفصحى/ العربية لمعاصرة	المغربية الدراجة	عربية أخرى ؟ [ما هي]	الانخليزية الاسكتلندية	الانجليزية الفصحى	الفرنسية	الاسبانية
مناسبة جدا							
مناسبة							
متوسطة							
قليلا							
غير مناسبة							

٢٤. الى اي حد تعتبر ان اللغات التالية صعبة (اكتب العلامة ✓)

	الفصحى/ العربية المعاصرة	المغربية الدراجة	عربية أخرى ؟ [ما هي]	الانجليزية الاسكتلندية	الانجليزية الفصحى	الفرنسية	الاسبانية
صعبة جدا							
صعبة							
متوسطة							
قليلا							
غير صعبة							

شكرا جزيلا